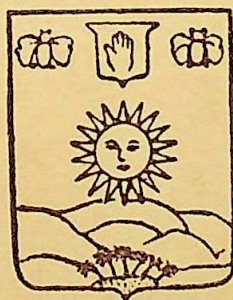


वा ग र्था वि व सं पृ क्तौ वा ग र्थ प्र ति प त्त ये ।

Number 5

February 1957

VĀK



DECCAN COLLEGE
POONA

ज ग तः पि त रौ व न्दे पा र्व ती प र मे श्व रौ ॥

उ॒त॒ त्वः प॒श्य॒न् द॒द॒शं॒ वा॒चि॒मु॒त॒ त्वः शृ॒ण्व॒न् शृ॒णो॒त्ये॒ना॒म् ।

तु॒तो त्वै॒स्ते त॒न्वं १ वि॒स॒से जा॒ये॒व प॒त्यं उ॒त्ता॒तो सु॒वा॒साः ॥

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EDITORIAL NOTES

While we feel happy to present to our readers the fifth number of the *Vāk* we also plead ourselves guilty for the enormous delay in bringing out this number which was scheduled for publication in 1955. This delay was mainly due to the fact that the Sanskrit Dictionary Department had to concentrate its attention on other routine matters of the department owing to its reorganisation and expansion.

* * * *

With a view to finding out ways and means for the expeditious progress of the Sanskrit Dictionary Scheme and its completion within a reasonable period of time, the Government of India appointed in 1954 an *Ad Hoc* Committee and as a result of its recommendations the department was reorganised as an autonomous unit with the appointment of a larger staff recommended by the Committee. An Editorial Board, consisting of the following members, was also formed to look after the progress of the work of the department from time to time :—

1. Syed Ashfaq HUSAIN, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, (Chairman).
2. Dr. Sushil Kumar DE, M.A., D.LITT.
3. Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Ph.D.
4. Prof. K. A. Subramania IYER, M.A.
5. Prof. H. D. VELANKAR, M.A.
6. Dr. S. M. KATRE, M.A., Ph.D. (General Editor).

* * * *

The Sanskrit Dictionary Department deeply mourns the loss sustained by it on account of the sad demise of Professor V. A. R. SHASTRY and Shri Vitthal SAVALE. Prof. SHASTRY was an Assistant Editor in the department since July 1952. He was an erudite scholar of Sanskrit in general and of *Mīmāṃsā* in particular and the department had been greatly benefitted by his scholarship and mature intellect. It hoped to be still more profitted by his association in its reorganised form. But unfortunately the cruel hand of Death snatched him away from us just on the eve of its reorganisation! Shri Vitthal SAVALE, who was an employee of the department practically since its inception, had been of great service to the department, particularly in its microfilming and photographic work of Sanskrit manuscripts and other documents. In his death the department has lost a good and experienced photographic attendant.

* * * *

It is a matter of gratification for the department that two of its members on the staff have been invited abroad to participate in the Sanskrit teaching. Pandit V. L. JOSHI Shastri who is working as a Shastri in the Dictionary department has been invited to work as a 'Special Temporary Lecturer in Sanskrit' for a period of one year at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London; while Shri V. W. PARANJPE, working as a Bibliographic Assistant in the department has been invited by the authorities of the *Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Orient*, in Rome.

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With its reorganisation and expansion, the Sanskrit Dictionary Department has to face an additional burden on its finances. Taking into consideration its legitimate needs the Government of India have very generously sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 100,000/- for a period of fifteen years for the purpose. This amount will enable the department to meet fifty per cent of its total annual expenditure; while for the remaining amount it has to rely on the generous support from the State Governments, public bodies like the Universities and other donors and we earnestly hope that the department will receive warm support from all quarters.

During the current year, in addition to the subvention of Rs. 1,00,000/- from the Government of India, the department received the following grants for the Sanskrit Dictionary Scheme :—

1. Government of Bombay	..	Rs. 15,000/-
2. Government of Assam	..	„ 2,000/-
3. Government of Hyderabad	..	„ 1,000/-
4. Government of Madras	..	„ 1,000/-
5. Government of Punjab	..	„ 1,000/-
6. University of Bombay	..	„ 4,000/-
7. University of Poona	..	„ 5,000/-
8. Gujarat University	..	„ 500/-
9. Karnatak University	..	„ 1,000/-
10. Sir Dorabjee Tata Trust	..	„ 2,000/-
11. UNESCO \$ 1000/-	..	„ 4,745/6/7

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The academic aspect of the Dictionary scheme is even more important and we request scholars to contribute their mite to the gigantic scheme both as honorary collaborators and as contributors to the Sanskrit Dictionary as also to the *Vāk*.

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THE USE OF THE PARTICLE *ca*

By

J. GONDA, *Utrecht*

Although it cannot be said that the particle *ca*, like some other vocables of very frequent occurrence which do not present serious difficulties in translating, has escaped the attention of the authors of grammars, a special discussion of its syntactical peculiarities including its position in the sentence may be of some use. It is, to begin with, questionable whether the observations made by BOEHTLINGK and ROTH, or by SPEYER or DELBRÜCK and other scholars, are completely adequate to the requirements of a modern description of syntactic facts and phenomena. The particle does, further, not seem to belong to those vocables the complete significance of which can be understood from the dictionaries available; how has it, for instance, come to express such meanings as "if" or "indeed, certainly", and how should the group interrogative particle + *ca* be accounted for? Apart from similar points, the word is remarkable for its postpositive character and for the tendency to be put to each of the nouns or other terms connected; it is also worth studying from the point of view of the order of words in various types of sentences. Finally the Indian *ca* has so many particulars in common with its relatives in other Indo-European languages—Anc. Ir. *ča*, Gr. *te*, Lat. *-que*, Goth. *-h* and so on: I.E. **k^ue-*, that it would be worth while to discuss these at some length.

Referring, for a full account of the use and history of these cognate words to another article,¹ we can only observe here that their various functions have given rise to much controversial discussion, mainly—it would appear to the present author—because of the inclination of scholars to regard the particle as a word like our modern "and" and to neglect to harmonize philological facts with a linguistic hypothesis, founded on a large collection of idioms concerning similar words in various languages spoken by peoples who lived under cultural circumstances comparable to those of the pre- or protohistoric Indo-Europeans. The attempts to find, by the traditional methods, a common parentage and a satisfactory explanation for all

1. J. GONDA, The History and Original Function of the Indo-European particle **k^ue* especially in Greek and Latin, published in the *Mnemosyne* IV, 7 (Leyden 1954), p. 177 ff. and 265 ff.

uses of I.E. *k^{ue}* remaining unsuccessful,² the present author has recently entered upon the at first sight somewhat hazardous undertaking to reconsider this problem and to expound a new theory. It would appear to him that we are not right in putting the Ancient-Indian *ca* and its above relatives completely on a par with our modern "and," in regarding the prehistoric **k^{ue}* as a conjunction in the traditional sense of the term.³ The AInd. *ca*, Lat. *-que*, etc., belong with AInd. *vā*, Lat. *-ve*, etc., to an ancient class of small words which was in most I.E. languages dying out in antiquity. In this these particles may be compared to other ancient features: the system of cases, the ancient distinction of gender, the dual, the co-existence of active and middle verb forms, and so on. As these features were, generally speaking, characteristic of a definite mental structure which came to pass gradually away when man began to look at nature and human society from a more "modern" and rationalistic point of view, it may be asked whether the disappearance of the old postpositive "conjunctions" in most languages was not due to similar influences. No longer supported by the inner urge or the social and psychical factors which had created the constructions in which they occurred and had retained these for many centuries, they could not resist the progress of words of greater volume and stronger connective force (e.g. Gr. *kai*, Lat. *et*, OHigh Germ. *enti*, *unta*, etc., cf. Skt. *tathā*) which syntactically were more in keeping with speech habits already usual in Greek, Roman, and German antiquity. Even in India, where *ca* remained extremely common in Sanskrit of all periods and in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages, it was replaced by other conjunctions in New Indo-Aryan,⁴ the very use and etymology of which leave no doubt about their different character: Hindi *aur* for instance comes from Skt. *aparam* "other", which also expressed the idea of "again, moreover"; *aur*, whilst retaining the force of "again, more-

2. After the articles referred to in note 1 had been published, A. BLOCH (Museum Helveticum 12, (1955), p. 145 ff.) devoted some pages to a reconsideration of the epic *te* in Greek. Disagreeing, like the present author—whose articles were not known to BLOCH—with the opinions expressed by MINARD (Deux relatifs homériques, *Revue de Philologie* 1937, p. 239 ff.; 348 ff.) and CHANTRAINE (*Grammaire homérique*, II, Paris 1953, p. 340 ff.), the Swiss author attempts to show that this *te*, which he etymologically disconnects from *te* "and" must have meant "bekanntlich, ja" ("isn't it, you know, as is well known"). His interpretations are, however, often forced and far-fetched; in many cases an unprejudiced reader fails to see why the poet should have emphasized that certain facts were, contrary to all expectation, known to his hearers. As regards the different forms of *te* (to wit *qe*, what is expected) and *te* in *hote* (to wit *te*) in Minoic texts (see E. RISCH, *Mus. Helv.* 12, p. 75) this point—which deserves the attention of future authors—admits for the time being of a variety of interpretations other than the one given by BLOCH, viz. the original difference of the *te* in subordinate clauses and *te* "and".

3. For particulars see the above article, p. 182 ff.

4. It is worth noticing that in some Slavonic idioms the particle is still in existence.

over, besides, for the rest" and even that of "else" — *aur aur* "others besides" — is not rarely used for the sake of emphasis. The new conjunctions by which **k^{ue}* was ousted are prepositive and — so far as their etymology is known — originally often signified addition or continuation.

It must further be noted that the particle **k^{ue}* whether it be put once (type: *yajñam haviś ca*) or twice (*aham ca tvam ca*), was, especially in ancient texts, almost never purely connective or copulative. It did not connect any element of the sentence with any other element, any phrase or clause with any other similar group of words. It was no means for adding new items to a series. Where it seems to do so its primary function was to all appearance otherwise. In all languages in which it occurred **k^{ue}* consistently served to connect words or groups of words which are put on a par. Such Latin instances as *noctesque diesque* "days and nights", *di deaeque* "gods and goddesses", *regem regnumque* "king and realm" may be adduced in illustration.⁵ It has been held⁶ that in expressions such as *servi liberique* "freemen and slaves" the particle served to emphasize that two concepts which belong together, and, as a rule, two opposites, are welded into a whole. The present author would, however, object to regarding such pairs of terms — as far as antiquity is concerned — in the first place as contraries or opposites. Pre-scientific man, having a dislike of abstract and analytical thought in the modern way, to a great extent thinks and acts collectively. He is often indifferent to any knowledge of exact numbers of individual beings or objects and usually groups and classifies the entities and phenomena with which he is confronted, in different way to scholars belonging to more differentiated stages of culture. In the pre-scientific circles of ancient humanity much more emphasis was often laid upon the complementary character of a pair of entities. What would impress us, that is to say, our scholarly minds, as pairs of opposites was, and sometimes still is, valued by non- or pre-scientific man as pairs of complements.⁷ That the ancient Indo-Europeans shared this way of looking at the facts and occurrences in the outward world with many other peoples may be concluded from a variety of linguistic phenomena. We only call attention to the use of the dual:⁸ this category denoted entities which were of the same class and belonged together, which though being double, two-sided or occurring in pairs or twos, presented themselves to, or were regarded by, the human mind as a unity or at least as closely connected. A great number of particulars of the various functions

5. Sanskrit instances will be found on the following pages.

6. See R. KUHNER — B. GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II* (Satzlehre), 24, Leverkusen 1955, p. 242 f.

7. See "Reflections on the Numerals 'one' and 'two' in ancient Indo-European Languages", Utrecht 1953, ch. I.

8. For the dual see "Reflections", p. 10 ff.

of the numerals "two" and "one" in ancient I.E. tongues can, in the opinion of the present author, only be understood by the hypothesis that these words symbolized complementary "two-ness" and "one-ness". The supposition seems to be warranted that the syntactic use of the particle **k^ue* is another indicium of the prevalence of the same way of considering facts, events, or entities. The word seems to have been a means of indicating complementary unity, that is to say; it was a signpost pointing to, or emphasizing, the fact that two (or more) words of the same category (substantives, adjectives etc.) were—at least by the person speaking—not only considered as belonging together, but constituted a complementary pair or set. Hence the frequent occurrence of "opposites" connected by this particle. These "opposites" really were complements. So, Homer speaks of "father of men and gods" (*Iliad* 1, 544), of "song and dance" (*Odyssey* 1, 152), of "the huts and ships" (forming the camp of the Achaeans, *Il.* 1, 487), "the spot where the collar-bone divides the neck and the breast" (*Il.* 8, 326), and in Latin such phrases as "days and nights" (*noctesque diesque*), "by land and sea" (*terra marique*), "citizens and state" (*cives civitatemque*), "me and mine" (*me meosque*) are of frequent occurrence. This syntactic phenomenon is not foreign to non-Indo-European languages: in Arabic co-ordinated so-called contrary nominal concepts, signifying a totality are often used: "Arabs and foreigners", "rock and sandy soil", "secret and public", and a particle of similar function occurs in some of the Papuan idioms of New Guinea.

In this article—which is devoted to a study of the "syntax" of Skt. *ca* in a large sense of the term—the author makes it, therefore, part of his task to show that the history of the Indian *ca* fits in well with that of its relatives in Greek, Latin etc., and helps to found the above hypothesis with regard to the original function of the word. Especially conclusive are many instances of the double *ca*.

Before entering upon a consideration of a large collection of texts in order to inquire into the problem as to how far this original function of the particle was preserved in Sanskrit, it will be suitable to illustrate, by means of some representative passages, the above term "complementary pair". It will be evident that for instance the syllables *sā* and *ama* when constituting the term *sāma* can be called a complementary pair: *sā cāmaś ca* BĀU. 1, 3, 22 (cf. 23); cf. also AiB. 2, 26, 4 *vāk ca vā eṣa prāṇaś ca graho yad aindravāyavaḥ*. In this connection the well-known and especially epic expressions for the compounded numbers must be mentioned: *nava ca navatiś ca* or *nava navatiś ca* "ninety-nine". If a whole is said to split up into two parts the components are likewise complementary in character: BĀU. 1, 4, 3 "He caused his self to fall into two parts. From these arose husband and wife": *patiś ca patnī ca*. Hence also cases like JB. 1, 73; Mbh. 7, 184, 32 *devāś ca ṛṣayaś ca...../sarve sāinyāni ca*, which "logically" means a concise "all

bystanders". As is well-known the idea of totality is often in a graphic and concrete way expressed by "polar" ideas: thus "days" and its opposite "nights" often combine to suggest the more abstract idea of "always": *aharniśam* "continually".⁹ The unity in duality can however be emphasized by the phrase *ahaś ca rātrī ca*. A vast amount of material could be presented to show that words for ideas, beings, entities which require each other to form a complete whole or pair are often connected by a repeated *ca*: Mbh. 12, 149, 14, *kapotaś ca kapotī ca*; Rām. 2, 27, 10 *anuśiṣṭāsmi mātṛā ca pitṛā ca*, i.e. by father and mother (and these two form a pair). Similarly terms for entities which always go in pairs and are unimaginable one without the other: Rām. 2, 91, 27 *dyām ca bhūmiṃ ca*; PB. 1, 6, 10 *divā ca naktaṃ ca*; which form a set: Mbh. 7, 69, 13 *dhanuḥ śarāṇś ca*; which constitute contraries or opposites: BĀU. 6, 1, 3 *same ca durge ca* "on even and uneven ground"; Manu 7, 160 *saṃdhiṃ ca vighrahaṃ caiva*. Or words for beings or entities which form natural pairs (see above); for persons who are coupled, or perform an activity which can only be carried out by a pair of them, etc.: Mbh. 3, 56, 41 *vivāhaṃ kārayāmāsa damayantyā nalaś ca*; 58, 18 *dyūtam puṣkarasya nalaś ca*; for two persons or parties performing a particular function which has to be done by the two of them. AiB. 1, 29, 22 *adhvaryuś ca pratiprasthātā cobhayato methyau nihanyātām*; for two objects or groups of objects exclusively required for a certain purpose: Gobh. G. S. 1, 7, 25 *aṅguṣṭhābhyāṃ copakaniṣṭhikābhyāṃ cāṅgulibhyāṃ abhisamgrhya*. The favourite pairs of contradictory concepts, e.g. Mbh. 14, 19, 7 *naiva dharmo na cādharmaḥ*, are likewise often expressed in the same way. Compare also the type of phrase Manu 7, 159 *vyastaiś caiva samastaiś ca*; 214.

The terms to be considered on the next pages are however far from being always complementary by nature. Two entities may be complementary only under specified circumstances or with a view to a specified purpose: RV. 8, 62, 11 *ahaṃ ca tvaṃ ca* ("we will unite for obtaining gain"); BĀU. 1, 1, 1 *yakṛc ca kломānaś ca parvatāḥ* "the liver and the lungs (of the sacrificial horse) are the mountains". Two concepts may belong together from a particular point of view: by pronouncing the verse for Narāśaṃsa one confers offspring and speech upon the sacrificer, because men (*naraḥ*) are offspring and praise (*śaṃsaḥ*) is speech: *prajāṃ ca vācaṃ ca yajamāne dadhāti* AiB. 2, 4, 6; 2, 15, 15 because the sacrificial acts commence with speech which is brahman the desire is obtained which is in these two entities: *vāci ca brahmaṇi ca*; Mbh. 3, 56, 16 *vācā ca manasā caiva namaskāraṃ prayujya sā*. Double or twofold entities, occurrences, activities, in short any duality can lead an author to use the underlining complementary *ca...ca*:

9. See also W. HAVERS, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg 1931, p. 149 f.

īṣam ūrjam etc. often occur asyndetically, but sometimes e.g. TS. 1, 4, 14, 1; we find *īśaś corjaś ca*; Manu 4, 226 *īṣaṁ ca pūrtaṁ ca* : cf. *īṣāpūrta-*; RV. 4, 51, 11 *dyauś ca pṛthivī ca* : cf. *dyāvāpṛthivī*; JB. 1, 154 *yat paśumāṁś cāpaśuś ca bhrātr̥vyaū spardhete* "on the one hand, on the other"; or the connective *ca* : Mbh. 3, 56, 37 *yamas tv annarasam prādād dharme ca paramāṁ sthitim*; 12, 149, 20 *itihāsam imaṁ śrutvā na durgatim avāpnoti svargalokaṁ ca gacchati*; Aśv. Bc. 8, 39 *śriyaṁ grhītvā hṛdayaṁ ca me samam*. When expressing the idea of reciprocity an author may resort to this phrase : Gobh. GS. 4, 1, 35 *ye cātra tvānu yāṁś ca tvam anu*. Compare also the phrase *itaś cetaś ca*, e.g. Mbh. 3, 61, 18. Also when using terms which in themselves are not complementary but come into the same category or group, of which they are the only components: the study of the Veda must be interrupted in the case of the death of a fellow-student as well as of the ruler of the country: *sabrahmacāriṇi ca prete sve ca bhūmipatau* Gobh. GS. 3, 3, 24 f.; Manu 5, 78 if an infant or an (adult) relative die in a distant country : *bāle ca pṛthakpiṇḍe ca*. A special and very evident case occurs if two entities or events are excluded by means of *anyatra* : Gobh. GS. 4, 1, 4 *avadyanty avadānāni sarvāṅgebhyaḥ, anyatra vāmāc ca sakthnaḥ klomnaś ca* " from all limbs, except the left thigh and the (right) lung". When a group of beings breaks up into two parties, one of them taking a line of action opposite to that of the other we find for instance Mbh. 7, 184, 53 *vicerur na viceruś ca naktamcarāḥ* "some of the night-rangers began to rove whilst others desisted from doing so". Mention must also be made here of the well-known "paraphrase" of an ablative of comparison : Manu 7, 53 *vyasanasya ca mṛtyoś ca vyasanaṁ kaṣṭaṁ ucyate* "(on a comparison) between vice and death, vice is declared to be more pernicious". Hence also such cases as the following, where the content of an idea, an exhaustive explanation of the bearing of a term, or a complete paraphrasis are given : Mbh. 3, 52, 8 *varam dadau : kanyāratnam kumārāṁś ca trīn*. Two objects of the same verb are not seldom connected by *ca ca* : Mbh. 7, 69, 21 *kṛṣiṁ ca sasyaṁ ca narā duduhuḥ*. A double question like *katham kva ca* (Mbh. 1, 15, 4), or 4, 14, 7 *ācakṣa me kā ca kutaś ca bhāminī*—cf. also 3, 63, 72 *kā tvam kiṁ ca cikīrṣasi?*—is likewise often syndetically expressed.

The double *ca* often conveys the sense of the Eng. "as well as", "both and" : Mbh. 3, 55, 20 *tvam caiva devāś ca*, 56, 8 *muṣṇantī prabhayā rājñāṁ caksūṁsi ca manāṁsi ca*; Gobh. GS. 3, 6, 7 *tantīm prasāryamāṇāṁ baddhavadatsām ca* "an die Leine, wenn sie losgeknüpft wird, wie auch wenn an sie das Kalb angebunden ist" (KNAUER); Ār. Jāt. p. 105, 17 f.; or that of "on the one hand on the other hand" : Mbh. 3, 61, 16 so *vastratām ātmanāś ca tasyāś cāpy ekavastratām*. Elsewhere mutuality or reciprocity can be expressed by a double *ca* : Aśv. Bc. 10, 20 *taṁ*,

sametya papraccha ca/sa cāpy avocat; or by a single *ca*: AV. 3, 6, 1; 3 *yān ahām dvēsmi yé ca mām*; Mbh. 3, 67, 24 *saṁsmartavyas tadā te 'ham vāsaś cedam nivāsayeḥ*. When only two reasons or motives for a certain attitude are mentioned and we would express ourselves by a "partly partly" construction, *ca*.....*ca* may also render services: Aśv. Bc. 10, 36 *agatyaiivā ca lajjayā ca*.

Sometimes the very situation described in the context does not allow of another interpretation of *ca*.....*ca* than that of "complementary duality": Manu 5, 42 "the twice-born man who, knowing the true meaning of the Veda, slays an animal for specified ritual purposes causes both himself and the animal to enter a most blessed state": *ātmānam ca paśum caiva*. By themselves women and dogs are no complements, but in an incantation to put the attendants of a woman to sleep they are: AV. 4, 5, 2 *striyaś ca* *śunaś ca*. Or two "aspects" of an idea: TS. 3, 2, 7, 1 *ṛtaṁ ca satyaṁ ca vadata* "speak right and truth".¹⁰ Two essential properties which may be regarded as a complete characterization of an object are associated by..... *ca*.....*ca*: TB. 3, 5, 10, 2 *ūrjasvatī ca payasvatī ca* (cf. also VS. 1, 27; ŚB. 1, 2, 5, 11; AV. 19, 46, 6 etc.). Cf. also such adverbial phrases as RV. 1, 164, 31 *ā ca parā ca*. Two substantives accompanied by the same adjective: Aśv. Bc. 8, 23 *nirāśrayaṁ chandakam aśvam eva ca*; 32 *upagate ca tvayi kaṇṭhake ca me*. Two words depending on the same element of the sentence: Kāl. R. 15, 65 *rūpe gīte ca mādhyam*.

Various relations between two processes, to a more detailed account of which we shall have to return, may be expressed by means of this particle: Mbh. 1, 16, 28 *śrāntāḥ smaḥ* *nodbhavaty amṛtaṁ ca tat* "we are spent with fatigue, but the amṛta has not yet arisen". Two processes which occur in close succession, or at the same time are often connected by a double *ca*: Mbh. 13, 70, 7 *sa vāsudevena samuddhṛtaś ca pṛṣṭaś ca kāryaṁ nijagāda*.

Although the particle does not, generally speaking, present any difficulty in translating, it may be observed that sometimes, by misjudging its true character translators seem to have made mistakes. Thus, in AV. 6, 24, 2 *I yan me akṣyor ādidyota pārṣṇyoḥ prapadoś ca yat*, the words for "heels" and "front parts of the feet" are connected (Whitney-Lanman incorrectly place "and" before pāda b): "what has burnt in my eyes, what in my heels and front feet".

10. The very existence of this phrase which is of a certain frequency in Vedic texts—cf. also RV. 10, 190, 1; VS. 17, 83 *ṛtajic ca satyajic ca*; TB. 3, 7, 7, 4 *ṛtaṁ ca me satyaṁ cābhūtām*—should prevent us from completely identifying *ṛta*- and *satya*-. They must be complements, not homonyms. Otherwise: H. LUDERS, *Varuṇa I*, Göttingen 1951, p. 15; 24, etc. It is the present author's intention to revert to this point elsewhere.

We cannot, for reasons of space, deal at length with other Indian languages. A few observations with regard to some Pāli texts and the idiom of Aśoka's inscriptions, must suffice. In this literature *ca* may be said to have the same force. For the double *ca* see for instance Jāt. I, p. 143 *tassa lakkaṇa ca kālo cāti dve puttā ahesuṃ*; 180 *mayhañ ca assārohaṇa ca* "us both" (CHALMERS); 184 *atthe ca dhamme ca*; 3, 127 *maṃsena c'eva phalā-phalena ca* "with flesh as well as with all kinds of fruit"; Mil. p. 97 *tathā-gatassa dhātu ca nānaratanañ ca*; 99, 3 *dhammo ca vinayo ca*; Aś. K. 2 *duve cikissakā kaṭa manussacikissā cā pasucikissā ca*; *manussopagāni cā pasopagāni cā*; *hālāpitā cā lopāpitā*; K. 12 *ṣuṇeyu cā ṣuṣuṣeyu cā*. Cases of polysyndeton, applied in a significant way, are not rare: Jāt. I, 112 *mayhañ imaṃ tulañ ca pasibbakañ ca aṭṭha ca kaḥāpane dethā* "let me retain my scales, my bag and eight pieces of money"; 120 *sukkhadaṇḍakā ca sākhā ca palāsañ ca*; Aś. G. 5 *mama puttā ca pottā paraṃ ca tena y. me apaccam*. The use of the single *ca* is generally speaking in harmony with the Sanskrit idiom: Mil. 94 *kāyikaṃ vācasikaṃ c'assa rakkhitaṃ hoti*; Dh. 13, 2 *asmim loke paraṃ hi ca*, Aś. K. 4 *dhammassi sīlassi cā*.

The opinion expressed by RHYS DAVIDS¹¹ and other scholars that Pāli *ca* can by itself convey an indefinite sense—"ever, (who) ever, (what) ever, etc."—cannot be maintained. Referring, in general, to the detailed discussion of the relevant constructions on the following pages it may be emphasized here that in Saṃyutta 2, 65 *yañ ca kho ... ceteti yañ ca pakappeti* "whatever he thinks, whatever he intends" the indefinite force was, at least originally, implied in the construction in its entirety, especially in the repeated *ya-*, *ca* fulfilling its usual function.

The function and position of the ancient Iranian particle *ča* cannot be discussed here. Suffice it to observe that they are generally speaking in perfect harmony with the Sanskrit and ancient Greek usage.¹²

11. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and W. STEDE, The Pāli Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary, s.v. *ca*. The explication of (Jāt. 1, 151) *tuyhañ ca tassā ca* "to you, whatever to her > to you as well as to her" must be rejected also.

12. It even seems possible to make use of the pronouncedly complementary character of most word groups containing the single or repeated particle in determining the sense of the other words of the group. It may for instance be asked whether Y. 43, 4 "strong and holy" or "active and holy" may be considered adequate translations of the Avestan *tachmāmcā spəntəm*: as is well known the meaning of the latter word is disputed (See a paper by the present author in Oriens, 2, p. 195 ff., where arguments were adduced in favour of the meaning "possessing a certain kind of energetic power"). Some combinations are of interest from a historical point of view: OPers. Bis. 1, 66 Persis and Media are associated by the double *ča*, "the other provinces" following with *uta* "and also"; Pers. d 9 the king couples his own name and that of the divinity by means of *ča*.—For an enumeration of instances see Chr. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörter-*

Let us now proceed to arrange the various phrases and syntagmata containing this particle in a systematic way and to explain its occurrence, where this seems desirable.

The nouns connected by means of a double *ca* very often denote persons or objects going in pairs or constituting a pair. In cases like the following the complementary character of the constituents is perfectly clear: RV. 5, 38, 3 *divāś ca gmaś ca* "of heaven and earth"; 70, 6 *dyaus ca prthivī ca*; cf. also AV. 1, 2, 4; 2, 15, 1; AV. 10, 8, 2; RV. 5, 51, 14 (also AV. 5, 23, 1; 25, 4; 6, 88, 2; 94, 3, etc.) *indraś cāgniś ca* "the gods Indra and Agni" whose names often form a dvandva compound *indrāgnī*; 6, 15, 8 *devāsaś ca martāsaś ca* "gods and mortal men"; 46, 9 *maghavadbhyaś ca mahyaṃ ca* "the munificent ones (i.e., the institutors of the sacrifice) and me (i.e. the poet of the hymn)" being the two parties interested in the liberality of the gods; AV. 1, 2, 4 *rogaṃ cāsrāvaṃ ca* "disease and diarrhoea (or a similar illness)"; 2, 15, 2 *ahaś ca rātrī ca* "day and night"; 3 *sūryaś ca candraś ca* "sun and moon"; 4 *brahma ca kṣatram ca*; "what is (has come into being) and what is to be"; 4, 11, 9 *prajāṃ ca lokaṃ ca* "progeny and a world (i.e. the hereafter)" i.e., the double form of continuation of life; 13, 7 *pitā ca mātā ca* "both father and mother"; 7, 13, 1 *striṇāṃ ca puṃsāṃ ca* "of men and women"; 8, 10, 25 *brahma ca tapaś ca*; 9, 6, 51 *pūrve cāpare ca*; AV. 6, 139, 3; 7, 33, 1; 8, 10, 24; 10, 4, 3; 7, 11; 11, 7, 1; ŚvU. 3, 4; 4, 12; 6, 8.

In Vedic prose we often come across such phrases as: AiB. 1, 3, 12 *āste ca carati ca*; 2, 1, 1 *manuṣyāś ca ṛṣayaś ca*; 2, 2, 12 *yajñāc ca yajamānāc ca*; 1, 26, 1 *prayājāś cānuṣyājāś ca*; 2, 1, 7 *prajāṃ ca paśūmś ca*; 17, 3 *trīṇi ca śatāni ṣaṣṭiṃ ca* "360"; cf. also 1, 15, 5; 27, 1; 28, 39; 29, 17; 20, 22; 2, 11, 1; 15, 15; 18, 6; 27, 8; 7, 1, 2; 3, 2, etc.; JB. 1, 25 *itiṃ ca gatiṃ ca*; JUB. 1, 2, 7 *vāyoś caivāpāṃ cānu vartma*; 22, 8; 38, 6; 58, 6, etc.; especially interesting is 1, 53, 5 *tad yat sā cāmaś ca tat sāmābhavat*, "sā and ama become sāmā"; two entities which in contradistinction to a number of single objects are liable to undergo the same process are connected in this way: JUB. 3, 17, 3. PB. 1, 6, 10 *divā ca naktaṃ ca*; (Pāli Dh. 21, 7;) PB. *svapantaś ca jāgrataś ca*; 2, 2, 3 *ā ca parā ca*; 2, 4, 2; 8, 2; 10, 3; ŚB. 6, 6, 3, 15 *brahma ca kṣatram ca*; 8, 6, 2, 10; Śaḍv. Br. 2, 3, 1 *devāś ca vā asurāś ca* (cf. JB. 1, 107 *devāsurāḥ*). BĀU. 1, 1, 1; 5, 2; 2, 5, 15; 19; 6, 1; 3, 5, 1; 6, 1; 4, 3, 34; ChU. 3, 12, 1 *gāyati ca trāyate ca*; 13, 2 *śrīś ca yaśaś ceti*; 18, 3 *bhāti ca tapati ca*; 5, 1, 4; Kauṣ.BU. 3, 1 *yuddhena ca pauruṣeṇa ca*; Gobh. GS. 3, 10, 16. AiU. 3, 1, 3 "(he is Brahmā, Indra.....all these gods, the elements...)" *bījānī-tarāṇi cetarāṇi ca*: though the last words have been translated by "(seeds)

buch, Strassburg 1904, 563 ff.; cf. also H. REICHELT, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1909, p. 357 and 442 f.; A. MEILLET-E. BENVENISTE, *Grammaire du Vieux-perse*,² Paris 1931, p. 224.

of one sort and another" (HUME; RADHAKRISHNAN; SILBURN) the sense seems to be: "(seeds of one sort and the other"; as *itara-* is often used to denote a contrary idea and even connected antithetically with another word of which it signifies the contrary: *viṣayāya itarāya vā* "to victory or defeat", cf. also *dakṣiṇetara-* "the left hand", the expression must, also in view of the context, be equivalent to "of all sorts".

In addition to the remarks already made in the introductory section some epic examples of the repeated *ca* may be cited here: Mbh. 1, 64, 16 *deśe ca kāle ca*; 3, 56, 47 *evaṃ ca yajamānaś ca viharanś ca narādhipaḥ / rarakṣa . . . vasudhām*; 62, 19 *itaś cetaś ca dhāvati*; 7, 50, 4 *divaṃ ca bhūmiṃ ca samānayann iva*; 13 *pibanti cāśnanti ca*; 69, 6 *svādūni ca mṛdūni ca (phalāni)*; 7 *vṛkṣeṣu ca guhāsu ca (nyavasanta)*; 7, 69, 21 *kṛṣiṃ ca sasyaṃ ca*; 11, 16, 27 *suparnāś ca gṛdhrāś ca*; Rām. 3, 41, 10 *rājamūlo hi dharmāś ca yaśāś ca*; 6, 116, 24; Manu 4, 145 *japec ca juhuyāc caiva*; 5, 42; 45 *jīvaṃś ca mṛtaś caiva*; 80; 6, 29 *etāś cānyāś ca*; cf. 61; 7, 6 (= Mbh. 3, 56, 8); 7, 140 *ṭikṣṇāś caiva mṛduś ca*; Bhāsa, Vās. 6, 11 + "we had portraits painted of you (*ca*) and of V. (*ca*) on a panel, and therewith celebrated the marriage". Aśvaghōṣa's works contain a considerable number of striking instances: Bc. 8, 33 *na samvadaty āśru ca tac ca karma te*; 9, 18 *buddhiś ca yatnaś ca nimittam atra vanam ca liṅgam ca hi bhīrucihnam*; 49 *śamaś ca taikṣṇyaṃ ca hi nopapannam*; 12, 34 *mṛtyuṃ ca janma ca*; 11, 44 *rājyaṃ ca dāsyam ca mataṃ samānam*; 4, 5; 68; 101; 5, 70; 6, 7; 35; 7, 9; 21; 8, 32; 9, 58; 64; 10, 35; 11, 6; 12, 6; 66; 13, 3; 9.

The same poet repeatedly shows his fondness for connecting two verbs, especially perfects, in this way: Bc. 4, 19 *jaṅgrāha ca jahāra ca*; 58 *kṛīḍanti ca hasanti ca*; 9, 81; cf. also 8, 51.¹³ Cf. also Bc. 10, 22 *kramāgatā caiva parīkṣitā ca*. He also occasionally used the same verb, in the singular, with two subjects joined by a single or double *ca*: Saund. 9, 28 *gataṃ gatam naiva tu samnivartate jalam nadinām ca nṛnām ca yauvanam*; 8, 2 *na hi bāṣpaś ca śamaś ca śobhate*. Cf. also Kāl. R. 15, 103 *girau dakṣiṇe cottare ca*; 8, 23; Kāl. R. 1, 16 a pair of opposites: *adhṛṣyaś cābhigamyaś ca* "at once unapproachable and inviting"; 68 *prakāśaś cāprakāśaś ca* "at the same time shining and not shining"; 6, 29 the two goddesses, *śrīś ca sarasvatī ca*, who by nature occupy different stations, live in harmony with him; however these goddesses are often mentioned together; 8, 23 *śatruṣu cendriyeṣu ca*: "(the two were watchful of) the enemies and senses respectively". Daṇḍin, Dkc. 88 *tasyāś ca mama ca* (two parties); Budh. BK. 18, 354 *saṃkṣiptā ca nirastā ca* "courte d'une part, longue de l'autre" (Lacôte); 325; 425; Bhav. Utt. 6, 23 *kuśasya ca lavasya ca* (the two sons of Rāma); Māl.

13. See also the author's article "Monosyllaba am Satz- und Versschluss im Altindischen", *Acta Orientalia* 17, p. 124 ff.

6, 9 — *karuṇaṃ ca manoharaṃ ca* “piteous and at the same time attractive”; 4, 1. Jayar. Har. 27, 86 *mūrkhaś ca durgataś cāyam*, *budhaś ca dhanavāṃś ca saḥ* “this one was foolish and poor, and the other was intelligent and wealthy”; 186. Of course, the English “as well as” may often be an adequate translation: Bhāsa, Vās. 3 “I must work in lots of these (flowers) for myself as well as for P. (or: and P.).”

Although it cannot be part of our task to give a description of the various employments of *ca* in later texts, it may be interesting to add that this double *ca* is not foreign to the style of purāṇas and other texts of similar character: VāP. 69, 342 *teṣāṃ putrāś ca pautrāś ca*; Nil. 31 the number 432000 is expressed as follows: *dvātriṃśac ca sahasrāṇi lakṣāṇāṃ ca catuṣṭayam*; cf. also 52 *kadrūś ca vinatā caiva spardhamāne paraspāram* (a pair of emulous sisters). The construction occurs also in philosophical texts: Śāṅkara Upadeśas. 20 *tābhyo bhakṣitābhyo lohitaṃ ca śukraṃ ca strīpūṃsaśārīrasambandhi jāyate*.

Space forbids to dwell upon every construction or sentence type. The attentive reader may notice for instance ŚB. 6, 4, 4, 13 “therefore the b. and the k. never go behind the v. and the ś.”: *tasmān na kadā cana brāhmaṇaś ca kṣatriyaś ca vaiśyaṃ ca śūdraṃ ca paścād anvitaḥ*.

Before passing on to special cases and particulars mention may be made of a grammatical text: Gaṇar. p. 4 quotes *pacati ca paṭhati ca* as an instance of *samuccaya-* “accumulation so as to form a totality”. The same term is used to define the dvandva compound, examples of which are according to the authorities *plakṣanyagrodhau = plakṣaś ca nyagrodhaś ca* (with the “reciproque” *ca*) and *vāktvacam = vāk ca tvak ca* (with the “collective” *ca*¹⁴). According to another definition of this type of compound a dvandva is characterized by the idea of member or “reciprocity” or rather mutual connection (of simple members) and by that of collection. In Jinendrabuddhi’s Nyāsa 2, 2, 29 both implications, that of mutual connection and that of collection, are also attributed to *ca*.¹⁵

As already noticed we also find the double *ca* after adverbs and other indeclinable words: RV. 6, 75, 11 *saṃ ca vi ca dravanti* “run together and asunder”; AV. 6, 49, 2; AV. 2, 2, 3 *ā ca parā ca yanti* “they both come and go”; cf. also 7, 9, 1; hence the compound *ācaparāca-* “moving towards and away from”. Cf. also *itaś cetaś ca*, e.g. ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 46 and similar phrases, inter alia: Budh. BK. 18, 115 *ceti ca niścitya*; Manu 2, 26 *pretya ceha ca* “.....as well as.....”.

14. For these terms see further on.

15. See also L. RENOU, *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit*, Paris 1942, II, p. 131 and I, p. 163f.

For compounds like *ācaparāca-* and *ācopāca-* "moving towards and upwards, fluctuating"; *uccāvaca-* "high and low, various" see Pāṇini 2, 1, 72 and notice such Latin phrases as *usque quāque* "everywhere, always", *susque deque* "upwards and downwards, in any way".¹⁶

The indeclinable word may in a curious way be followed by different verbs: AV. 7, 25, 2 *pra cānati vi ca caṣṭe* "(what) both breathes forth and looks abroad" (WHITNEY-LANMAN).

That the double *ca* can sometimes be translated by disjunctive particles is immaterial: Kauṣ. B.Up. 2, 5 *jāgrac ca svapan ca santataṃ juhoti* "one is offering continuously, whether waking or sleeping". We shall discuss this point further on.

For the sake of variation or metrical convenience dvandva compounds and a.....*ca*.....*ca* group may alternate: Hit. 1, 13 *pratyākhyāne ca dāne ca sukhaduḥkhe priyāpriye*, the mutual relation of the components of each pair being the same. It is sometimes possible to ascertain an individual preference of an author or redactor for a *ca* group: thus Aś. G. 3, 4 etc. has *mātari ca pitari ca*, whereas the parallel texts prefer *mātāpitṛṣu*.

Another example, discussed already by DELBRÜCK¹⁷ and WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER,¹⁸ may illustrate to what extent this idea of complementary connection could manifest itself: PB. 8, 8, 6 the question "who is going to follow together with me?" is not, as might perhaps be expected, expressed by a sentence containing the verb in the singular and the phrase *saha mayā*, but by these words: *kaś cāhaṃ cedam anvavaīṣyāva iti*, which literally mean "who (on the one hand) and I (on the other) will (both of us) follow". The answer significantly is not *aham*, but *ahaṃ ca*, which, once again, emphasizes the incompleteness of the agent or subject "I". Cf. also 8, 8, 7; AiB. 3, 50, 1; Kāth. 37, 11; JB. 1, 179 f.

We may turn also to a remarkable idiom mentioned by SPEYER,¹⁹ if *antareṇa* (or *antarā*) "between" is construed with two nouns, it precedes these, and *ca* is put twice: Pat. 1, 45 *antarā tvāṃ ca māṃ ca kamaṇḍaluḥ* "the pitcher is between you and me"; ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 1 *antareṇāhavanīyaṃ ca gārhapatyam ca*; ŚB. 3, 1, 4 *antareṇa.....cātvālaṃ cotkaram ca*; Kāl. Māl. 1, 12. Here the sense "on one side.....on the other side" is perfectly evident. Cf. also BĀU. 6, 2, 2 *yad antarā pitaram mātaram ca* and VS. 13,

16. See *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7, p. 291 f.

17. B. DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 83.

18. J. WACKERNAGEL — A. DEBRUNNER, *Altind. Gr.* III, Göttingen 1930, p. 565 f. Compare also E. SITTIG, in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 50, p. 57; SPEYER, *Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 31, §101 Anm.

19. J. S. SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden 1886, p. 121.

25 *antarā dyāvāprthivī*²⁰ beside AV. 9, 3, 15 *a. dyām ca prthivīm ca*. Another interesting idiom is expressed by Pañc. Hertel 1, 15 *puruṣapaśoś ca paśoś ca ko viśeṣaḥ*?

The members of these pairs are often separated by one or more than one other word: RV. 10, 36, 2 *dyaus ca naḥ prthivī ca*; 6, 68, 4; KS. 35, 11 *d. ca tvā p. ca*; AV. 6, 53, 1; 12, 1, 53 *d. ca ma idam p. ca*; RV. 9, 86, 9 *d. ca yasya p. ca*; TB. 3, 7, 4, 15 *d. cemaṃ yajñam p. ca*. As appears from these instances the insertion of another enclitic after the first *ca* is not seldom the cause of this separation: AV. 2, 4, 5 *śanaś ca mā jaṅgidaś ca* "both the hemp and the j. (a plant worn as an amulet)"; 6, 57, 3; 10, 7, 10; 11; 12, 3, 25. With regard to RV. 7, 73, 7 *kṛṣṇam ca varṇam aruṇam ca sam dhruḥ* MACDONELL²¹ is of course right in saying that these adjectives express a contrast, but this contrast actually is a pair of complements, the poet speaking of night and dawn. But this order of words is also a device to include a term belonging to both members into the copulative phrase: AV. 4, 1, 1 *sataś ca yonim asataś ca* "the womb of the existent and of the non-existent"; 5, 23, 6 *dr̥ṣṭāṃś ca ghnann adr̥ṣṭāṃś ca* "slaying both those seen and those unseen"; 27, 6; 8, 1, 12 *sūryaś ca rakṣatām candramāś ca* (cf. 13); 9, 2, 15.

Compare also such constructions as AV. 9, 6, 31-36 *iṣṭam ca vā eṣa pūrtaṃ ca gr̥hāṇām aśnāti yaḥ*..... (cf. the well-known compound *iṣṭā-pūrta*- "what is offered and bestowed" e.g. RV. 10, 14, 1; AV. 18, 2, 57 etc.), and with the same distribution of words 32 *payas* and *rasam*, 34 *prajāṃ* and *paśūn* etc.

In Vedic prose examples are numerous: ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 6 *vyacasvatī ca hīyam prathasvatī ca* "the earth is both wide and broad"; AiB. 2, 4, 6; 7, 11; 12; 12, 10; 26, 4; 7, 18, 13; 32, 3; 8, 8, 12. JUB. 1, 60, 1 *puṇyam ca dhyāyati pāpaṃ ca*; 2, 10, 1 *prajāpatiś ca ha vai tan mṛtyuś ca samyetāte*; 3, 1, 10; 37, 4 *sadhr̥ciś ca hy eṣa etad viśūciś ca prajā vaste*; 4, 28, 3 *strī ca vai puruṣaś ca prajanayataḥ*. BĀU. 1, 3, 24 *vācā ca hy eva sa prāṇena codagāyad iti*; 4, 6; 5, 18 ff.; ChU. 4, 11, 2. Cf. also JB. 1, 5 *ahaś caiva rātriś ca*. In addition to the above: Aśv. Bc. 5, 4; 6, 6; 8, 65; 13, 14; Bhav. Māl. 1, 23; and, in Buddhist Sanskrit, Mahāv. II, 188 *suddhī ca saṃvijjati saṃyamo ca*.

The adverbial pairs can likewise be split up: AV. 1, 20, 3 *itaś ca yad amutaś ca yat* "both what (is) from here and what from yonder". The copulative phrase can also be distributed over two successive and parallel

20. The Latin idiom Horace, Ep. 1, 2, 12 *inter Peliden ... et inter Atriden* compared by SPEYER, o.c., n. 1 is, however, not identical with this construction: see e.g. W. HAVERS, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg 1931, p. 34.

21. A. A. MACDONELL, *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 228.

sentences or word groups: AV. 4, 3, 3 *akṣyau ca te mukhaṃ ca te vyāghra jambhayāmasi* "both thy two eyes and thy mouth, o tiger, we crush"; RV. 8, 35, 10-12 *prajāṃ ca dhattam draviṇaṃ ca dhattam* "grant (us) progeny and grant (us) goods": the words *prajā* and *dhana-* "wealth, property", which is nearly synonymous with *draviṇa-*, are often connected by a single or double *ca* (e.g. AV. 7, 81, 3); JUB. 1, 8, 12; AiB. 1, 21, 5 *anīya iva ca sthavīya iva ca*; 29, 16. Notice also Kauṣ. BU. 4, 20 *sarveṣāṃ ca devānāṃ, sarveṣāṃ ca bhūtānāṃ śraīṣṭhyam svārājyam*..... "pre-eminence and sovereignty among all gods and (all) beings". Cf. also Aśv. Bc. 12, 43, and in a more elaborate and literary manner: 6, 61 *śivaṃ ca kāṣāyam ṛsidhvajas te na yujyate himsram idaṃ dhanuṣ ca* "your holy robe.....does not go with this bow".

There are many instances of the well-known tendency to avoid construing the same verb with two subjects, especially when these consist of word groups: AV. 4, 3, 3 (see above); Mbh. 1, 3, 32 (pr.) *sarve ca te vedāḥ pratibhāsyanti sarvāṇi ca dharmasāstrāṇi*. In this case the second subject is often added to a clause which is complete in itself. Cf. also 3, 63, 70 f. On the other hand two objects dependent on the same absolutive are not rarely connected in this way: Mbh. 3, 59, 9 *niśamya satatam cākṣān*...../ *nalam ca*.....

Cases are not rare in which the complementary character of the set of words is not at the first sight obvious. However, terms which are not as a rule complementary may be presented as such in a particular context: thus the gods and the vital breaths are associated together because they are, in contradistinction to all other entities, *tyam*, and hence the author of Kauṣ. BU. 1, 6 writes: *yad devās ca prāṇās ca tat tyam*. JUB. 1, 53, 3 mind and breath connected by a double *ca* are expressly said to be identical (*samānam*). Moreover, the words are, in this case, often mutually connected by alliteration, paronomasia or similar partial outward identity: AV. 3, 10, 7 *puṣṭe ca poṣe ca* "prosperity and abundance", the double expression emphasizing the idea of material well-being and satiation denoted by the root *puṣ-*. AV. 5, 13, 7 *āligi ca viligi ca*: whatever the exact sense of these words may be, there is no doubt that they form a pair; cf. also 5, 23, 4 and 6, 16, 3 *babhruś ca babhrukarnaś ca* "the brown and the brown-eared"; 27, 6; ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 15 *śukraś ca śuciś ca*; BĀU. 6, 1, 1 *jyeṣṭhaṃ ca śreṣṭhaṃ ca*.

The phrases *kiṃ ca kiṃ ca* (JUB. 1, 50, 8) "of various kinds" and *ko ca ko ca* (Pāli, Mil. 115) do not constitute an exception; the latter stands for a "collective" "which people?", not for an "additive" "which person? + which person?". Cf. also Jāt. I, 101 where *imaṣmiṇ ca imaṣmiṇ ca* (etc.) seems to differ subtly from *ta- ta-* "manifold, various"; perhaps the definite article might serve in translating. Compare also Bhav. Māl. 6, 16 *hetubhis*

tais ca tais ca "for a complex of reasons" or something to that effect; cf. 9, 47 *tadā tadā ca*. See also Budh. BK. 18, 115 *iti ca iti ca*.

A favourite type of phrase signifying totality by means of two complementary terms is represented by AV. 5, 2, 2 *avyanac ca vyanac ca* "both what does not breath out and what breathes out", or, what seems to be a more common order of words: 6, 15, 2; 54, 3 *sabandhuś cāsabandhuś ca* "both related and not of kin"; 9, 6, 23.

Special attention may therefore be invited to this type: BĀU. 1, 5, 20 *saṃcaramś cāsaṃcaramś ca* "whether moving or not moving"; JUB. 1, 53, 1 *sac caivāsac ca*, the complementary character of which is unmistakable; AiB. 7, 5, 1; 19, 1 etc. and to phrases with *anya-*:²² BĀU. 5, 3, 1 *svās ca anye ca*; cf. also Manu 7, 156; Kāl. R. 12, 49 which have the same character. The words connected in this way not seldom derive from the same root (paronomasia), e.g. BĀU. 3, 6, 1 *otās ca protās ca*; or are otherwise identical in part of their outward appearance: Pāli Dhp. 20, 11 *vanam ca vanatham ca*.

There is a great profusion of passages in which compounds, one member of which is identical,²³ are connected by a repeated *ca*: JUB. 1, 22, 5 *udgātāras copagātāras ca*; BĀU. 2, 5, 15 *rathanābhau ca rathanemau ca*; Mbh. 1, 49, 7 *dharmātmā ca mahātmā ca*; 12, 143, 24 *bhayārtās ca kṣudhārtās ca*; 145, 8; Manu 7, 209 *dharmajñam ca kṛtajñam ca*; Aśv. Bc. 2, 50; 7, 40 *devarṣibhiś caiva maharṣibhiś ca*; 13, 19 at the end of an otherwise asyndetic series. Here the dissimilar members may be regarded as complementary in character. Such opposites as occur in ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 5 *saṃ hy etau sṛjete sukṛtaṃ ca duṣkṛtaṃ ca* are, in fact, complements. Cf. also Aśv. Bc 12, 17 *prakṛtiś ca vikāraś ca*. Poets availed themselves of this construction in order to connect alliterating or rhyming terms very closely and to emphasize their complementary character: Bhav. Utt. 7, 20 *maṅgalyā ca manoharā ca (kathā)* "which is as.....as.....; equally.....and.....".

Frequently a dual, the numeral *dvau* "two", or words like *ubhau* "both", *ubhaya-* "of both kinds" etc. occur in the same sentence. They explicitly state that the words connected by *ca.....ca* denote entities which exist together and are mutually complementary. AV. 3, 24, 7 *upohaś ca samūhaś ca kṣattārau* "bringer and gatherer (are) the two distributors (attendants)"; 7, 56, 8 *ya (a serpent) ubhābhyām praharati pucchena cāsyena ca*; 79, 2; 8, 2, 20; 6, 4; 9, 5, 21; 10, 4, 8; 7, 22; 8, 2; 11, 2, 16; 7, 3. In this case the words concerned are, by themselves, not always complementary: AV. 8, 1, 9 *śyāmaś ca mā śabalaś ca.....śvānau* said of the two dogs

22. Greek counterparts are numerous: *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7, p. 205, etc. We shall have to revert to this point.

23. I also refer to my observations in *Acta Orientalia* 21, p. 275 ff.

of Yama, one of which is dark, the other brindled; these adjectives also serve as the names of these animals.²⁴ Cf. also 9, 7, 1 (alliteration; cf. 10, 7, 17); 7 b; 10 a, where various gods are said to act together.

Other words evoking the idea of two opposite and complementary entities are *antarā* "between", reference to which has already been made, and *yugapat* "being by the side of each other, simultaneously": cf. also Pat. Mah. 2, 2, 24 *nedam ubhayaṃ yugapad bhavati vākyam ca samāśaś ca*. All other entities can be excluded by *anya-*: BĀU. 2, 3, 2 *yad vāyoś cāntarikṣāc ca*; 4.

Some other instances are: AiB. 1, 1, 3 *ete.....tanvau yad a. ca v. ca*; 4, 10; 2, 11, 12; cf. 1, 29, 22; cf. also 8, 12, 2; JB. 1, 159; 171; 2, 235; PB. 4, 2, 10; ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 7 *saurayāmau śvetam ca kṛṣṇam ca pārśvayoḥ* "a white one and a black one, for Sūrya and Yama....."; 2, 4, 4, 5; Śaḍv. Br. 2, 3, 1 *devās ca vā asurās caīṣu lokeṣv aspardhanta*; 2, 2, 63 (*ubhau*); JUB. 1, 34, 4; 35, 7; 36, 7 *dantās ca dvayās ca nakhāḥ*; 3, 39, 11.....*ca.....ca tad etan mithunam*; 16, 11. BĀU. 1, 3, 1; 5, 2 *dve.....iti, hutam ca prahutam ca*; 2, 3, 1; 3, 9, 8; 4, 3, 18 *ubhe kūle.....pūrvam cāparam ca*; 5, 1; 5, 8, 1; ChU. 3, 19, 1 *te āṇḍakapāle rajatam ca suvarṇam ca* "two parts (of an egg), one of silver, one of gold"; Kauṣ. BUp. 1, 5 *bhūtam ca bhaviṣyac ca pūrvau pāḍau*; MU. 6, 3; 6, 15 *dve.....rūpe kālāś cākālāś ca* (time and the time-less); similarly, 22. Mbh. 1, 3, 140; Manu 9, 62 *gurvavac ca muṣāvavac ca varteyātām parasparam*; Rām. 6, 115, 3 *avamānaś ca śatruś ca yugapan nihatau mayā*; Kāl. R. 6, 29. A purāṇical example is MtP. 6, 35 *sampātīś ca jaṭāyus ca aruṇasya sutāv ubhau*. Worth mentioning is also JUB. 1, 13, 5 *retāś caiva prajāṃ ca saptamāv akarot* ".....as sixth and seventh".

A single example will illustrate the usefulness of an insight into the true sense conveyed by this particle with a view to the interpretation of texts or to an examination of the meaning of religious or philosophical terms: in MU. 6, 36 *dve...brahmajyotiṣo rūpake śāntam ekam samṛddham caikam* the very construction of the sentence shows that *śāntam* and *samṛddham*—both of them being terms of outstanding interest were conceived by the author as complements. In a translation: "the tranquil and the abounding" (RADHAKRISHNAN).

A few words must also be said on the frequent connection of word groups by means of a repeated *ca*. As according to Wackernagel's famous law²⁵ enclitics occupy the second place of a word group the word order *-ca — -ca —* is very common. RV. 6, 9, 1 *ahaś ca kṛṣṇam ahar arjunam*

24. See e.g. JB. 1, 6 and M. BLOOMFIELD, *The two dogs of Yama*, JAOS. 15, p. 163.

25. WACKERNAGEL, *Indog. Forsch.* I, p. 333 ff.

*ca*²⁶ "the dark day (= the night) and the light day": *ca* emphasizes the close connection of the word groups which are already linked together by the repeated *ahaḥ*. 6, 48, 13 it adds to the connective force of a case of rhyme: *dhenum ca viśvadohasam iṣam ca viśvabhōjasam*: 56, 6 to that of an instance of epiphora: *adyā ca sarvatātaye śvaś ca sarvatātaye*. In a similar way, AV. 5, 23, 13 *sarveṣāṃ ca krimiṇām sarvāsāṃ ca krimiṇām* "of all he-worms and of all she-worms"; TS. 4, 7, 9, 1 *ṛk ca me sāma ca me*; BĀU. 1, 5, 14 *ā ca pūryate, apa ca kṣīyate*; 3, 7, 2 (3 × *ca*); ChUp. 3, 19, 4 *ā ca gaccheyur upa ca nimreḍeran*, "will come unto him and delight him"; Mbh. 4, 14, 11 *idaṃ ca rūpaṃ prathamam ca te vayah*; Rām. 4, 1, 5 "on the one hand ... on the other" (a third cause is not considered) *bharatasya ca duḥkkena vaidehyā haraṇena ca*; Aśv. Bc. 8, 18; 9, 29; cf. also Saund. 15, 19; Āryaś. Jāt. p. 105, 17; Kāl. Ragh. 11, 74 *dvau ripū.../ ca haihayas tvaṃ ca ...//*, (and compare also 14, 77 *puṣpaṃ phalaṃ cārtavam āharantyo bi-jaṃ ca bāleyam akrṣṭaroḥi*); Bhav. Utt. 6, 25 *prasannasimhastimitam ca vīkṣitam dhvaniś ca māṅgalyamṛdaṅgamāmsalaḥ*. Word groups containing an absolutive are not infrequently connected in this way: Mbh. 3, 65, 26 *evam nalam ca samdiśya vāso dattvā ca*; 58, 4. Similarly, a clause containing an absolutive and a clause with a participle: Mbh. 3, 63, 68 f. *proktā... ca...// pūjām cāsyā...kṛtvā*. Compare also such complicated cases as Budh. B.K. 18, 39. When connecting word groups the function of the repeated *ca* is sometimes emphasized by a numeral, a dual, or another indication of completeness: Kāl. R. 11, 74 *dvau ripū... dhenuvatsaharaṇāc ca haihayas tvaṃ ca ... udyataḥ*; cf. 16, 53; cf. also Mbh. 12, 113, 2 *saritam caiva samvādam sāgarasya ca* "the conversation between the Rivers and the Sea".

Sometimes both members of the copulative phrase are not strictly speaking parallel: AV. 6, 110, 1 *sanāc ca hotā navyaś ca* "a hotar both of old and recent"; AiB. 1, 2, 13 *dhīyante ca pra ca jāyante*; BĀU. 4, 3, 1 *janakaś ca vaideho yājñavalkyaś ca*; Gobh.GS. 1, 3, 9 *madhye caivāparājītāyāṃ caiva diśi*. As we shall see further on other passages can be quoted in which dissimilar word groups are linked together by a single *ca*: Mbh. 3, 67, 23 *asya ... punarlabhāt ... punar labdhvā ca medinīm*.

In the preceding paragraphs we have examined the rôle of *ca* and the significance of its absence as far as the structure of word groups is concerned. Let us now consider the peculiarities of this particle when it is used to connect sentences. In Vedic verses we not infrequently find two short sentences, constituting a pāda and both of them containing *ca*: RV. 1, 35, 11 *rakṣā ca no adhi ca brūhi deva* "protect us and intercede for us, O god"; 114, 10; 76, 4 *ā ca huve ni ca satsīha devaiḥ* "I call thee near (invite

26. Notice the irregular position of the second *ca*,

V. 3

thee) and sit down here together with the gods"; 123, 12 *parā ca yanti punar ā ca yanti* "they go away and come back again"; 3, 53, 20 *mā ca hā mā ca rīriṣat* "(it) shall neither leave nor hurt us"; in these passages the processes denoted or, more generally, the ideas expressed by the verbs are closely associated.

In Vedic prose we come across similar passages, which, however, are often conspicuous by a greater length: JUB. 3, 12, 1 *īmāṃś ca lokāñ jayati etaiś cainam bhūtaiś samardhayati* "he conquers these worlds and he causes him to thrive"; 29, 6 *apriyaṃ cāsyā vineṣyāmy anu cainam śāsiṣyāmi* "I will remove his sadness and I will teach him"; 3, 11, 6; cf. also 4, 21, 5. Epic examples are: Mbh. 3, 68, 44 *kaś cāsau kva ca vartate*; 65, 19; 52, 30. Mbh. 3, 55, 27 reciprocity is emphasized: *sakhyaś cāsyā mayā dṛṣtās tābhiś cāpy upalakṣitaḥ*. A Pāli instance: Jāt. I, 132 *devadhamme cāhaṃ jānāmi tesu ca vattāmi* "I not only know but practise..."; cf. in Aśoka's inscriptions: G. 12 *ātpapāsaṃdaṃ ca chaṇati parapāsaṃḍassa ca pi apakaroti*.

When a succession of sentences is already linked together by anaphora the double *ca* is an excellent means of emphasizing the "oneness-in-two-ness" of the utterance: Mbh. 3, 55, 21 *katham āgamanam ceha, katham cāsi na lakṣitaḥ* "how have you come here, and how have you escaped being noticed", i.e. (in matter-of-fact speech) "how have you entered without being noticed?". Cf. also the types BĀU. 6, 1, 1 *sarvāṃ ca sāvitṛṃ anvāha, sarvāś ca madhumatīḥ*, and Mbh. 3, 65, 8 *sakhā ca te bhaviṣyāmi—matsamo nāsti pannagaḥ—laghuś ca te bhaviṣyāmi* (however, the first *ca* may also connect the sentence with the preceding part of the utterance). A similar construction: Harṣa, Ratn. 2, 44 *kopaś ca prakṛtikṛto dayitayā muktaś ca na praśrayaḥ*. The ancient preference for including two *ca*-clauses in one metrical unit is not entirely given up by authors of a later period: Aśv. Bc. 8, 51 d *tatāma caivāśrumukhā jagāda ca* "she gasped for breath and with tear-strewn face exclaimed...". Each of the members constitutes a metrical unit in the frequent type represented by Aśv. Saund. 15, 23 *na ca taṃ guṇam āpnoti bandhanāya ca kalpate* "both fails to attain excellence and also conduces to bondage".

This construction might serve as a means of expressing the immediate succession of acts and events: Budh. BK. 18, 332 *saṃkṣepaḥ śrūyatām ayam. preritaṃ yānapātraṃ ca tad vipannaṃ ca pūrvavat* "en deux mots apprenez ce qui se passa! Le bateau se mit en route; il fit naufrage, comme le précédent" (LACOTE); Jayar. Har. 27, 97 f.; cf. also Daṇḍin, Dkc. 93 *nagaram āviśann eva copalabhya....ca pradārśya....matim akaravam*.

The repetition of *ca* not infrequently indicates that two events or actions are simultaneous: Aśv. Bc. 7, 32 *jagāda cāstaṃ ca yayau vivasvān*; 4, 100; 5, 10... *ca sadyaḥ ...ca*; 16 "while" etc.; Kāl. Māl. 5, 3 *duḥkhāyate*

ca hr̥dayaṃ sukham āsnute ca "my heart experiences pain and at the same time enjoys pleasure"; Śak. 5, 30; 6, 8; R. 3, 40 *vismitaṃ kaumārasainyaṃ sapadi sthitaṃ ca tat / vasiṣṭhadhenuś ca yadṛcchayāgatā* "just as...then (there)"; 10, 6 *te ca prāpur udanvantaṃ bubudhe cādipuruṣaḥ: gamana-pratibodhayor avilambārthau cakārau*; 11, 50; 81 *kārmukaṃ ca...adiropitam / niṣprabhaś ca ripur āsa* "no sooner was the bow strung...than the enemy lost his splendour"; 15, 15; Budh. BK. 18, 264 *prasthitaś cintayitvā ca sā ca mām abhyabhāṣata*. Or the double *ca* implies the idea of "at once, immediately": Kāl. R. 10, 6 *te ca prāpur udanvantaṃ...bubudhe cādipuruṣaḥ* "just as they reached..., ... (he) awoke"; Kum. 3, 58 *umā ca...samāsasāda.../...sa ca...upararāma*; 66 *upacakrame ca /...ca... samadhatta* "no sooner.....than". A classical instance is Bhav. Māl. 9, 39: this śloka consists of four.....*ca*.....*ca* sentences expressing simultaneity: *āpūrṇaś ca kalābhir indur amalō yātaś ca rāhor mukham* etc. This poet has a predilection for this use of.....*ca*.....*ca*, cf. also Māl. 1, 14; 30; 31; 6, 6; cf. 8, 12. Pat. 1, p. 430 *yājñikaś cāyaṃ vaiyākaraṇaś ca* therefore expressed that "he is at the same time a sacrificer as well as a grammarian".

Twofold activity of a complementary character represented as simultaneous: Bhāsa, Vās. 5, 12 "whatever is needed to destroy the enemy, I have provided": *tīrṇā cāpi balair nadī tripathagā vatsāś ca haste tava*. If two predicates are regarded as being equally, and at the same time, true, a sentence like Bhav. Utt. 7, 20 *pāpmabhyāś ca punāti vardhayati ca śreyāmsi* (*pāpman-* and *śreyas-* are "opposites") *seyaṃ kathā* can render good services.

The same construction is used to indicate the simultaneous occurrence of two opposite qualities: Kāl. R. 1, 16 *adhṛṣyaś cābhigamyāś ca*, and to emphasize the exceptional simultaneity of *viṣaya-* "victory" and *ahiṃsā* "gentleness": 5, 57 *na cārihiṃsā viṣayaś ca haste* ".....and yet....."; cf. Bhav. Māl. 1, 16.

Sometimes the function of the repeated *ca* may at first sight be different: Pāli Jāt. I, 199 *tasmim ca gāme tiṃs' eva kulāni honti, te ca tiṃsa kulamanussā ekadivasaṃ.....gāmakammaṃ karonti*; yet both communications are in fact complementary, the whole utterance being an analytical expression of the thought "one day the thirty families which were in that village (and which transacted the affairs of the community) were transacting.....".

A very significant use of *ca*.....*ca* is also found in Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra, 4, 15 + *priyavayasyaṃ praṣṭuṃ ca :: sāvaśeṣaṃ iva bhṭṭinyā vacanam :: citragataṃ āryaputraṃ prasādayituṃ ca* "(if so, let us go there to ask about the well-being of) his dear friend and..... :: your ladyship's speech appears to be incomplete :: to propitiate my husband drawn in a picture". Here the interlocutor rightly understands the particle

at the end of the first sentence as a token of incompleteness. We find the double *ca* used to link together two parts of an interrupted utterance also in Bhav. Māl. 3, 18 *ḍṛḍhaṃ ca paśunā hato :: accāhidaṃ accāhidaṃ :: pramāthitaś ca daṃṣṭrāyudhaḥ*.

A positive and a negative sentence which form a pair are not rarely connected by *ca*.....*na ca*: Manu 7, 6 *tapaty ādityavac caiṣa*...../*na cainaṃ*.....*śaknoti kaścīd apy abhivikṣitum*; Kāl. R. 17, 71 "moon and sea decrease after having attained growth; he had growth (*ca*), but no (*na ca*) decrease". There can therefore be no doubt that the former *ca* without connecting the sentence to the preceding part of the utterance correlates to the latter. In combination with the negative *na* we find e.g. Mbh. 11, 5, 19f. *na ca*.....// *na ca*.....The construction.....*ca*.....*na ca* was occasionally used to express the idea of ".....indeed,.....and yet not.....": Pāli Jāt. I, 171 *āma pānīyañ ca pivissāma, na ca te vasaṃ gamissāmā ti*. The order *na ca*....*ca* is e.g. found Manu 9, 328. Of course, *na*.....*na ca* occurs also: Mbh. 3, 69, 4; see further on. It may be remembered that a repeated *na ca* is a means of combining a pair of negated terms: Aśv. Bc 8, 82.

In many more or less extended sentences a more intimate connection between a pair of clauses is obtained by the double employment of this particle: Aśv. Bc. 11, 54 "the wise man.....who has the.....pleasure of.....peace (*ca*) in this life and for whom suffering in the life beyond (*ca*) is abolished". Two clauses which, though forming no exact parallels or construed differently, are notionally equivalent, have the same relation to the main clause are connected by the double *ca* in cases such as: Aśv. Bc. 8, 48 *yataś ca vāso viṣṭam*...../*divi praviddhaṃ mukuṭaṃ ca*.....*tato 'pi*.

Instances of more extended or more independent units connected by the double *ca* are not wanting: R̥v. 6, 34, 7 *saṃ ca tve jagmur gira indra pūrvīr vi ca tvad yanti vibhvo manīṣāḥ* where the verbs "meet" and "going asunder" i.e. "originating in" are complements; 8, 7; 7, 59, 6; AV. 5, 4, 9 *yakṣmaṃ ca sarvaṃ nāśaya takmānaṃ cārasaṃ krdhi* "both.....and"; 6, 110, 1; KU. 4, 9 (rising and setting of the sun); 1, 22 b c *tvam ca mṛtyo yan na suvijñeyam āttha/vaktā cāśya tvādr̥ganyo na labhyaḥ*. Mbh. 1, 3, 78 *ihāsyatām ca madgr̥he kaṃcit kālāṃ, śūśrūṣuṇā ca bhavitavyam*; Aśv. Bc. 11, 55.

Authors of kāvya have availed themselves of this opportunity in order to compose long and well-balanced sentences in which two thoughts are brought into mutual connection, opposed, or represented as complementary. Thus Aśv. Bc. 10, 20 in describing the behaviour of two persons towards each other *taṃ*.....*papraccha ca*....., *sa cāpy avocat*.....; 12, 20 "on one hand.....on the other hand"; 36. We may suppose Aśvaghoṣa to have

availed himself of the possibility lying in the well-known device of chiasmus with a view to a particular stylistic effect: Bc. 10, 2 *śailaiḥ suguptaṃ ca vibhūṣitaṃ ca dhṛtaṃ ca pūtaṃ ca śivais tapodaiḥ* "guarded and adorned by mountains and supported and purified by auspicious hot springs". Cases such as Bc. 10, 19 are more in harmony with the general usage.

Something like a weak "on the one hand.....on the other hand" in formulating a pair of alternatives must also be the force of *ca*, or *ca.....ca* in the phrase *kva (ca).....kva ca*, which—to all probability only in the post-Vedic period—serves to denote a great discrepancy or incongruity between two ideas: Kāl. Śak. 1, 10 *kva bata harinakānām jīvitaṃ cātīlolaṃ/kva ca niśitanipātā.....śārās te* "how great a contrast is there between the extremely frail life of fawns.....and your sharp-falling arrows"; Māl. 3, 2 (*kvaśabdadvayam ubhayaor atyantam viruddhatvam darśayati* Comm.); Ragh. 1, 2; Megh. 5; Aśv. Bc. 6, 28; 9, 48; Budhasv. BK. 17, 95; 18, 101 etc.;²⁷ Daṇḍin, Daś. p. 90 *kva tapaḥ kva ca ruditaṃ*. The sense of our "and" would not suit these contexts. An interesting instance of a "on the one hand.....on the other hand" is also Aśv. Bc. 9, 49 *śame ratiś cec chithilaṃ ca rājyaṃ/rājye matiś cec chamaviklavaś ca*.

The logical relation between the two parts of *a.....ca.....ca* construction may be such as to induce us to translations such as "and yet": e.g. Aśv. Bc. 7, 23 where a concessive relation is implied: *trāśaś ca nityaṃ maraṇāt prajānām yatnena necchanti punaḥprasūtim*.

For combinations of *ca* and other particles—e.g. Pāli Jāt. 1, 167 *hasi c'eva rodi ca* "he laughed as well as cried"—the reader may consult the grammars and dictionaries.²⁸

Passing now to those likewise extremely frequent cases in which *ca* is used once, we first give some instances of the usual position of *ca*, namely after the second member: RV. 6, 16, 3 *adhvanaḥ pathaś ca*; 22 *stomaṃ yajñaṃ ca*; 22, 8 *kṣām apaś ca*; 24, 7 *stomebhir ukthaiś ca*; 34, 5 *avitā vṛdhaś ca* (in cases of this type two complementary aspects of the same act are expressed; cf. e.g. also 6, 61, 14; 70, 5); RV. 5, 15, 4 (in connection with Agni who gives food and light) *dhāyase cakṣase ca*; 6, 16, 3 (O Agni) *ā devān vakṣi yakṣi ca*; 28, 2 *yajvane pṛṇate ca*; 34, 1 *purā nūnaṃ ca*; AV. 6, 42, 3 *pārṣṇyā prapadena ca*; 81, 1 *prajāṃ dhanam ca*; 117, 3 *devayānāḥ pitṛyānāś ca*; 11, 7, 1 *nāma rūpaṃ ca*. See also: RV. 5, 10, 3; 52, 3; 4; 6, 1, 9; 44, 17; 46, 12; 60, 12 (the two gods of the *sūkta*); 7, 3, 10; 15, 8; 18, 19 ("die Yamunā wohl als der heimatliche Strom der Tṛtsu's" Geldner: *yamunā*

27. See also SPEYER, S.S., p. 322; V.S.S., p. 81.

28. For *cid ... ca* (cf. RV. 1, 124, 16) see also, in the Avesta, Y. 44, 3.

trtsavaś ca); 42, 2; 60, 2; 101, 6; 104, 10; AV. 1, 13, 3; 2, 34, 3; 3, 24, 5
kṛtasya kāryasya ca; 4, 36, 1; 38, 4; 5, 2, 6; 6, 67, 1; 90, 1; 133, 4; 140, 1;
 8, 3, 3; 5, 22; 7, 17; 10, 2, 24; 11, 5, 1; 12, 1, 23.

Special attention may be drawn to numerals such as RV. 6, 47, 2
navatiṃ nava ca "99",²⁹ which diverge, in a remarkable way, from the Greek
 construction with *te kai* expressing that the two numbers combined constitute
 a whole and at the same time that the second member is an addition to the
 round number mentioned first.³⁰ Cf. e.g. also Kāl. R. 5, 21 *catasro daśa ca*.

Other instances are: ŚU. 3, 1 *udbhava sambhava ca*; 18 *sthāvarasya*
carasya ca; 4, 15 *yasmin yuktā brahmarṣayo devatās ca*; 4, 6; 6, 21 *tapah-*
prabhāvād devaprasādāc ca. BĀU. 3, 7, 1; ChU. 5, 3, 2; MU. 5, 2 *antar*
bahiś ca; 6, 12 *adyate 'tti ca* (active and passive of the same verb). Gobh.
 3, 6, 7. Mbh. 1, 3, 10 (pr.) *sambhrānto viṣaṇṇaś ca*; 101 *mūtram puriṣam ca*;
 119; 126; 128; 144; 3, 53, 14 (metr.) *nāradaḥ parvataś caiva*; 22 *rājāno rāja-*
putrāś ca; 3, 56, 45; 63, 27; 83; 5, 18. Manu 4, 23 *vāci prāṇe ca*; 27; 100; 107
grāmeṣu nagareṣu ca; 111 *gandho lepaś ca*; 131 *madhyamāndine 'rdharātre ca*;
 Aśv. Bc. 5, 21 *saṃjagrṣe visismiye ca*; 40; 8, 47; 12, 10. Ār. Jāt. 17, 33; 19,
 O + *viḍambaneva vihiṃseva ca*; Kāl. R. 1, 20; 60; 69 *paratreha ca* (cf. Manu
 9, 25 *pretyeha ca*); 6, 54; 7, 2; 52; 54; 9, 9; 10, 83; 11, 67; two adj.: 3, 57
adhomukhair ūrdhvamukhaiś ca patribhiḥ; Hit. 1, 73 *utsave vyasane caiva*..
rājadvāri śmaśāne ca. Budh. BK. 18, 1; 26; 27; 55; 97 *iha paraloke ca*; 119
taḍḍiyās ca madḍiyās ca. In ślesas two adjectives qualifying the same noun
 are frequently linked together by *ca*; Sub. Vās. 13 *jalanidhir iva vāhinī-*
śatanāyakaḥ samakarapracāraś ca; 87; 119; 122 etc.; two adverbs Daṇḍin, Dkc.
 76 *uṣṇam āyataṃ ca niḥśvasya*; cf. also phrases such as Dkc. 86 *ramyam*
ujjvalam ca; a case of two substantives qualified by the same adjective is
 Kāl. R. 14, 77 *puṣpaṃ phalaṃ cārtavam*. According to grammarians—compare
 e.g. Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya 2, 2, 29 *plakṣaś ca* in the word group *nyagrodhaḥ*
plakṣaś ca occupies a subordinate position (*anvācaya*-, see further on),
 depending on *nyagrodhaḥ*. It can indeed be argued that in *sthāvarasya*
carasya ca the contents of the second member—whether it is expressed or
 not—are already announced by the former. However, it does not, generally
 speaking appear to be possible to demonstrate that in the above and many
 other instances, the second members of these *ca* groups refer to entities or
 actions of secondary importance, although it must be admitted that a second
 term added for the sake of completeness by means of *ca* was often already
 implied in context or situation so as to be tacitly understood by the hearer.
 In the passages we have been considering the tendency formulated by

29. See also J. WACKERNAGEL - A. DEBRÜNNER, *Altindische Grammatik* III, (1930),
 p. 383 ff.

30. See my observations in the *Mnemosyne* IV, 7, p. 199 f.

Pāṇini 2, 2, 34 with regard to dvandvas: the shorter of the two components comes as a rule first³¹—cf. e.g. *śūdrāriyau*—, does not appear to manifest itself in a striking way. We even found *sthāvarasya carasya ca* beside the compound *sthāvaraṅgama-*. We might also point to TB. 1, 2, 6, 7 *brāhmaṇas ca sūdraś ca carmakarte vyāyacchete* as opposed to Kāth. 34, 5 *śūdrāriyau carmasu vyāyacchete*. As Pāṇini's "rule" also applies to a large number of asyndetically co-ordinated nouns—cf. e.g. AV. 4, 15, 5 *nadato nabhasvataḥ*,³² the occurrence of *ca* may be considered to have played a part here. An extensive examination of a large number of texts will however be needed to reach a sufficient degree of probability with regard to the factors determining the order of words in these cases and to various details.³³

It may in this connection be remembered that *ca* is sporadically added to a compound of the *mātarāpitarā* type: VS. 9, 19 *pitarāmātarā ca*.

If an adjective is applied to two nouns, *ca* is added to the second of them: Kāl. R. 17, 67 *guṇānām balānām ca ṣaṇṇam*. The particle can also occur in passages describing community or identity: Kāl. R. 17, 80; here also it is immaterial whether the ideas connected may, or may not, be called opposites: Kāl. R. 9, 9 *udayam astamayam ca* "rise and fall".

There is no use in dwelling upon the occurrence of alliteration etc.: AV. 3, 28, 5 *puruṣān paśūmś ca*; Aśv. Bc. 4, 26 *madena madanena ca*; Ār. Jāt. 19, 0 + (see above); Kāl. R. 9, 1 *yamavatām avatām ca*; Vikr. p. 24 *sukhāya lābhāya ca*. Or upon that of semi-identical compounds: Aśv. Bc. 5, 78; 6, 47; Kāl. R. 3, 57; Budh. BK. 18, 108; the type *sad asac ca*: Kāl. R. 4, 10; 1, 68.

The particle can however also occupy the intermediate position: RV. 4, 47, 2 *indraś ca vāyo*; 5, 66, 6; 78, 6 *saṃ ca vi*; 6, 38, 3 *brahmā ca girah*; AV. 4, 25, 7; 31, 7; AV. 6, 120, 3 *pitarau ca putrān*; 12, 3, 34; 36; Manu 4, 119. The combination can be split up: Kāl. R. 1, 78 and 8, 9 which are at the same time an example of *na na ca*; 8, 9 *na kharo na ca bhūyasā mṛduḥ* ("nor yet, nor on the other hand"). The last component of the syndetic group can be a word group: RV. 6, 68, 5 *rayim rayivataś ca janān*; 45, 4; 75, 5; 5, 10, 6; 7, 31, 6; AV. 5, 21, 7; Kāl. R. 1, 57 *rājā rājñī ca māgadhi*; 8,

31. See also W. CALAND, A rhythmic law in language, *Acta Orientalia* 9, p. 59 ff.

32. See J. GONDA, *Stlistische studie over Atharvaveda I-VII*, Wageningen 1938, p. 88, and for Latin: E. WOLFFLIN, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* 3, p. 444.

33. Cf. e.g. TS. 5, 1, 2, 2 f. *pāpavasyasaṃ vā etat kriyate yac chreyasā ca pāpīyasā ca samānaṃ kurvanti* "it is a confusion of things (lit. "bad- and better-beings"), when they perform the same (act) with a better and a worse instruments". It is our intention to return to this point elsewhere.

28; Budh. BK. 18, 93. The first component is a word group: AV. 4, 21, 3; cf. 4, 37, 10; Budh. BK. 18, 49.

The particle sometimes occurs in the word group which is the first member of the bipartite whole: RV. 7, 16, 9 *sa mandrayā ca jihvayā vahnir āsā*.....; or it is placed between a single term and a word group: 7, 31, 5 (otherwise Geldner).

Cases of asymmetry are, of course, frequent: Mbh. 3, 67, 23 *asyā*..... *punarlābhāt*.....*punar labdhvā ca medinīm*. Cf. also Aśv. Bc. 4, 26; 5, 39; 65; 83; 8, 82; 85; 12, 57. In a conscious manner with chiasmus: Kāl. R. 2, 63 *bhaktiā gurau mayy anukampayā ca*.

Here also a dual form may occasionally be found in connection with the *ca* group: AV. 1, 22, 1.....*udayatām hr̥dyoto harimā ca te*; 8, 7, 20 *vr̥hir yavaś ca bheṣajau*; 12, 1, 52; 3, 36; Vaikh. G.S. p. 12, 16; Aśv. Bc. 8, 10; Kāl. R. 1, 57; 8, 61; or *ubha-*: AV. 6, 19, 3; 11, 10, 11; *dva-*: Kāl. R. 4, 18; or a dual and *ubha-*: AV. 11, 5, 8; or other expressions of duality: Manu 7, 163.....*ca*.....*ca* /*saṃdhir jñeyo dvilakṣaṇaḥ*; Kāl. R. 9, 3; Cf. also AV. 7, 109, 3 *havirdhānam antarā sūryam ca*; BĀU. 6, 2, 2. Other passages in which the ideas of community or simultaneousness are emphasized by *ubhau*, *dvaya-*, *sama-* etc. are: Kāl. R. 4, 4; 5, 31; 68; 12, 8; 13, 26; 16, 45; by *yugapat*: Kāl. R. 4, 15.

The two terms connected are not always closely parallel; they may belong to different categories, or form part of different word groups. RV. 7, 24, 1 *avitā vr̥dhe ca* (cf. 6, 34, 5; 48, 2). BĀU. 4, 3, 9 *idaṃ ca paralokasthānam ca*; Gobh. GS. 1, 6, 14; 3, 3, 3f.; Mbh. 3, 52, 28 *janma rūpaṃ cedam*.

Not rarely the particle is the second word of a *pāda*. See e.g. also Mbh. 3, 52, 11; 62, 13; Ār. Jāt. 17, 9; Budh. BK. 18, 11 *ekaputraḥ*..... *durlabhatvāc ca vallabhah*; 107.

Of special interest is the combination of a vocative and a nominative: RV. 7, 66, 17 *varuṇa*...../ *mitrāś ca*; 104, 25 *indraś ca soma*; 5, 51, 6; 60, 7; 64, 5; 7, 97, 10; AV. 8, 8, 18 *indraś ca*...../ *śarva*.....*hatam*. AV. 1, 7, 3; 3, 1, 3; 4, 25, 3; 7, 44, 1; 110, 1; 8, 4, 25; 9, 9, 19. This curious idiom has often been made a subject for discussion. Recurring in Greek—cf. Homer Iliad 3, 276 f. *Zeu pater*.....*Ēlios te*—and being in accordance with the Avestan rule to avoid connecting two vocatives by means of *ca* it must be an ancient feature. If the particle is absent two vocatives can follow each other immediately: RV. 5, 71, 3 *varuṇa mitra*. The remarkable occurrence of the nominative—which here must have the function often appearing in enumerations, headings, and inscriptions—must therefore have been determined by the particle. The explication, found also

in one of the most recent books on syntax,³⁴ that the particle could not connect two vocatives because vocatives constitute sentences and the particle could not connect sentences is questionable, since there are many instances of this function in several ancient I.E. languages. The double vocative—i.e. a form used to call or address an individual—seems rather to have been incompatible with an emphasis laid on the idea of complementary connection. If the latter idea or the unity of the two persons were emphasized one vocative could suffice, whether both nouns were mentioned as in the case under consideration, or the elliptic dual was preferred as in R̥V. 5, 65, 6 *yuvam mitrā* “O Mitra and Varuṇa”.

There are also constructions like the following: AV. 10, 4, 15 *sa vai svajasya jambhana ubhayor vṛścikasya ca* “he is a destroyer of both, the viper and the scorpion”.

Of course, variation is not always avoided. A device which seems to have enjoyed some popularity is the sequence: dvandva compound and *ca* group, a classical instance of which is Kāl. R. 14, 8 *saritsamudrān sarasīs ca gatvā* “having gone to rivers, seas, and lakes”; cf. e.g. also Manu 4, 103, and 4, 52 *ca* group dvandva *ca* group. Sometimes both members of the combination contain *ca*: Āśv. Bc. 12, 19 *pāṇipādaṃ ca vādaṃ ca*. Manu 7, 132 the leaves, pot-herbs, and grass constitute a dvandva, which by means of a repeated *ca* is united with skins and other articles to a half-verse: *patraśākatṛṇānāṃ ca carmaṇāṃ vaidalasya ca*. Of a more complicated nature are constructions such as Manu 7, 220. Not infrequently one or more other words are inserted between the members of a *ca* group: AiB. 7, 32, 2; Mbh. 3, 67, 33 *tato rudantīm tāṃ dṛṣtvā...../kathayantīm ca*; 68, 20; 26; 70, 31. JUB. 4, 25, 3 the frequent rhyming pair *śama- dama-* “tranquillity and restraint” is separated: *ś. pratiṣṭhā d. ca*.

Mention has already been made of the occurrence of *ca* in connection with *anya-* “other”. This idiom is also a striking parallel of a similar construction in Greek, where the word for “other” and its stereotyped “neuter plural” which is equivalent to our “but”, are often accompanied by the particle *te*.³⁵ Its occurrence with these words seems to throw much light on its original function: in Homer, Iliad 6, 476 the words Zeus and the other gods, who form a complementary group, are connected by the particle; in 2, 754 a river is said not to mingle with the Peneius, but (followed by the particle) to flow over its water like oil. Sanskrit examples are: Mbh. 4, 15 8 Utg. *ājāṃ śaukaram anyac ca*; 3, 68, 40 *evam anyac ca vaktavyam*. The same idiom occurs if other words of the same meaning are used. Mbh. 7,

34. See e.g. SCHWYZER - DEBRUNNER, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, p. 63.

35. See also especially *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7, p. 271 ff.

184, 38 this idea is expressed four times and each time it is accompanied by *ca*: *āsvapṛṣṭheṣu cāpy anye rathanūdeṣu cāpare / gajaskandhagatās cānye śerate cāpare kṣitau*. See also Manu 9, 260; Mbh. 3, 52, 14 *na deveṣu na yakṣeṣu... / mānuṣeṣv api cānyeṣu*; 60, 1 *hṛtaṃ rājyaṃ yac cānyad vasu kiṃcana*; 62, 11; Pañc. Hertel 1, 184 + *cirāyātam anyac ca laghutam*. An interesting example is furnished by Aśoka: G. 4 *vimānadarsaṇā ca h. ca a. ca aññāni ca divyāni rūpāni*, the parallel texts omitting all *cas* with the exception of the last.

It may be observed that in many instances the words connected by *ca* derive their complementary character from the context. RV. 7, 36, 7 *dhiyaṃ tokaṃ ca ... avantu*. AV. 10, 1, 21 *grīvās te kṛtye pādau ca*. Cf. also for instance Aśv. Bc. 7, 28 which may at the same time be quoted as an example of incongruity. A similar observation can be made with regard to certain cases of the repeated *ca*: e.g. Bhav. Māl. 1, 34 *vidhiś ca madanaś ca*.

The members of the bipartite whole can sometimes be interpreted as a hendiadys, the "figure" by which an idea ordinarily conveyed by a noun and an epithet is expressed by two nouns connected by a particle: Shakespeare, Caes. 1, 3 *our yoke and sufferance* = the sufferance of our yoke. Mbh. 3, 54, 12 *vapuṣā śriyā ca*; Aśv. Bc. 4, 97 *caleṣu kāmeṣu ca sāradaśiṇaḥ* "when you find substance in the fleeting passions" (Johnston).

Very often, both elements connected are word groups: RV. 5, 25, 3 *sa no dhītī varīṣṭhayā śreṣṭhayā ca sumatyā*; 9, 6 *tavāham agna ūtibhir mitrasya ca praśastibhiḥ*; AV. 4, 1, 4; 2, 4; AiB. 8, 13, 2; Mbh. 3, 62, 22; Kāl. R. 2, 63; 3, 16; 4, 24; 5, 40; 11, 56 (reciprocity), etc.; Daṇḍin, Dkc. 88; Budh. Bk. 19, 69; cf. also Vaikh. GS. 1, 11. Sometimes however the complementary character of this kind of connection is no longer evident: Kāl. R. 16, 36.

Compare also the following instances in which the *ca* group is split up: RV. 6, 18, 9 *udāvatā tvakṣasā panyasā ca* "with vigour which (on the one hand) is helpful and on the other hand laudable": the adjectives may be said to complete each other, because the god's energy is in need of strengthening human praises; 7, 7, 5 *dyaus ca yaṃ pṛthivī...*; 7, 60, 2 *ṛju... vṛjinā ca*; 7, 17, 4; 25, 3; 50, 2; AV. 6, 115, 2 *bhūtaṃ mā tasmād bhavyaṃ ca*; 5, 7, 8; 138, 3; 8, 9, 7, etc. Cf. also Mbh. 1, 3, 108; 3, 53, 15 *kuśalam avyayam / papracchānāmayam ca*; 57, 12. Examples of this "splitting up" are far from rare. A favourite succession of words to which we shall have to revert is RV. 5, 16, 5, *ye vayaṃ ye ca sūrayaḥ*; AV. 10, 4, 9 *ye anti ye ca dūrake*; 1, 19, 2; 30, 2; Kauś. 135, 9 *ye antarikṣe ye ca divi śritāsaḥ*; GGS. 4, 2, 35. Adv.: RV. 6, 33, 5 *nūnaṃ na indrāparāya ca*; 7, 19, 5.

Incidentally the translation may assume the character of a zeugma: Kāl. R. 12, 44.

The same position of *ca* is found in places where two attributes are made to accompany one substantive: Kāl. R. 3, 43; where two circumstances are described as co-operating to the same end: Kāl. R. 12, 52; where two entities are said to produce complementary or opposite effects: Kāl. R. 4, 29. A Pāli instance expressing a "on the one hand...on the other hand": Mil. 105 *ciṇṇattā sakavisayassa, mahantattā ca mahāsamuddassa*.

A small selection of passages may be added in order to illustrate how later authors sometimes use *ca* under special circumstances: Kāl. R. 13, 9 *pibaty asau pāyayate ca sindhūḥ*; Sub. Vās. 225 *tvām eva mukharatayā ca* "you with your irrumation and noisiness"; 258 *duṣṣvapnānāṃ durnimittānāṃ ca phalam*, "of evil dreams and ill omens".

Sometimes one of the members is a word group, the other a single word: Aśv. Bc. 7, 13. A prose passage in which the second member is a word group: JUB. 3, 17, 6 *mayy āpa oṣadhayaś ca sarvāḥ*. Cf. also such instances as R.V. 5, 49, 1; Mbh. 1, 3, 98, in which the second member is longer. In later writings many good examples are to be found: Kāl. R. 4, 42; 8, 28. Sometimes the former member is a word group: Kāl. R. 1, 32.

In Kāvya works the particle is often found in passages describing two beings or objects undergoing the same treatment or participating in the same or similar events, or two events or actions which have some characteristic in common. The structure of the clause is not seldom: single word + word group including *ca*: Kāl. R. 2, 15 *dinānte nilayāya gantum / pracakrame pallavarāgatāmrā prabhā pataṅgasya muneś ca dhenuḥ* "...the light of the sun and the cow of the sage, both red like the colour of a (fresh) leaf, began each to return to their abode", i.e., "at sunset the cow, which (pāda a) like the sun had purified the quarters of the sky, returned"; 4, 42. The structure is: word group + word group including *ca*: Kāl. R. 3, 16; 7, 18; 8, 6; 11, 56; 64; 12, 84; 96. Cf. also id. 8, 92.

Kāvya poets have largely availed themselves of the opportunity offered to them by the general and traditional usage to separate logically cohering words. See e.g. Aśv. Bc. 5, 36. A variety of considerations may have led them to a definite choice. One of them no doubt was the tendency to give a stanza a sufficient degree of coherence by dividing syntactic groups and placing their components in different quarters of the verse. In this case the interruption of the natural order results from a conflict between the requirements of "logic" and versification. Thus we come across Aśv. Bc. 4, 17.... *bhikṣur jaṅghayā.../pipriśuś ca...*; Kāl. R. 1, 32 *tayā mene manasvinyā lakṣmyā ca vasudhādhipaḥ*; 11, 68. Cf. also a complicated instance like Manu 4, 93 *pūrvāṃ saṃdhyāṃ japāṃ tiṣṭhet svakāle cāparāṃ ciraṃ* (sc. *saṃdhyāṃ japann āsīta*).

It should be noticed that also a single *ca*, when connecting two words or groups of words, is not rarely accompanied by a word expressing the idea of "unity in duality" (duality-unity) or in the French terminology: *dualité unité*). Kālidāsa seems to have a preference for constructions such as: R. 1, 19 *dvayam evārthasādhanam / ... buddhir maurvī dhanuṣi cātātā*; 4, 4 *samam eva samākrāntam dvayam dviradagāminā / tena śiṃhāsanaṃ pitryam akhilaṃ cārimaṇḍalam*; 5, 31 ... *tau dvāv apy abhūtām abhinandya-sattvau / ... arthī nṛpaḥ ... ca*; 68 *yugapad ... parasparatulām adhirohatām dve / cakṣus tava...ca padmam*; 8, 6; 15, 103 *laṅkānāthaṃ pavanatanayaṃ cobhayam*, etc. A term for "both" is added: Bhav. Utt. 7, 14 *janakānām raghunām ca vaṃśayor ubhayor guruḥ* (both families came to be allied when Rāma married Sītā).

Still dealing with word groups we now reach the very frequent cases of extension or continuation: after having completed a short sentence (or clause) the author adds, by means of *ca*, a phrase which does not only run parallel to part of the preceding sentence (or clause), but also joins it closely. From some point of view apparent from, or implied in, the context they belong together, perform or undergo the same process, are compared to the same entity, qualified by the same characteristics, etc. Sometimes the latter ("added") part of the utterance forms a "contracted clause". Apart from such more or less irregular cases as, e.g. RV. 5, 64, 4 *yad dha kṣaye maghonām stotṛnām ca spūrdhase* "what (is) in the house of the patrons and leads the praisers to emulate"; 6, 25, 1; AV. 1, 6, 3; cf. 2, 35, 4; 3, 6, 1 (reciprocity); 22, 4; 12, 2, 18 we find: RV. 6, 16, 23 ... *sīdad dhotā kavikratuḥ / dūtaś ca havyavāhanaḥ* "...als Hotṛ mit Seher Sinn dasitzt und der Opferfahrende Bote (ist)" (GELDNER); 48, 10 *agne helāṃsi daivya yuyodhi no adevāni hvarāṃsi ca*; 71, 2; 72, 1; AV. 1, 6, 2; 1, 2, 6 *yathāham eṣāṃ vīrānām vīrājāni janasya ca* "that I may rule over these heroes and the people"; 2, 14, 3; 3, 20, 8; 4, 20, 7; 5, 5, 2; 30, 6; 6, 5, 3; 9, 2, 15; 10, 10; 3; 21; 11, 1, 33; 12, 3, 5. The type AV. 3, 3, 6 *yaś te havam vivadat sajāto yaś ca niṣṭyaḥ* "whatever fellow disputes thy call, and whatever outsider" (polarity expressive of totality) deserves special mention. Sometimes, the added phrase is conspicuous by greater length (Behaghel's tendency): AV. 5, 11, 11 *sakhā no asi paramam ca bandhuḥ*; 11, 5, 5; 9, 13. Sometimes two *ca* phrases are added: RV. 7, 19, 10 ... *śivo bhūḥ sakhā ca śūro 'vitā ca nṛnām* the ideas of "friend, comrade" and "helper" are closely related; 5, 44, 3. In many other cases both the added phrase and the parallel word group in the preceding part of the sentence are marked by *ca*: RV. 7, 56, 2 *dyāvā ca yatra pīpayann ahā ca*; 40, 2; cf. 77, 5. AV. 6, 107, 1 (bipeds and quadrupeds); 8, 1, 12 (sun and moon); 9, 5, 37. With 4 *ca* groups: AiB. 8, 14, 1.

The word *ca* is rather frequently found immediately after a finite verb constituting the main element of a short sentence (or clause) which is

closely connected with the preceding sentence. Often this verb occupies the first place in the second sentence. In Vedic texts a preverb may, followed by *ca*, be placed in that position: ṚV. 5, 65, 6 *yuvam mitremam janam yatatahaḥ sam ca nayatahaḥ* "do Ye, Mitra (and Varuṇa), unite (us) and lead (us) together"; 5, 11, 5; 26, 1; 37, 3; 6, 16, 22; 18, 10; 7, 19, 5; 86, 1; AV. 3, 6, 6.....*mūrdhānam viṣvag bhindhi sahasva ca*; 6, 2, 1; 34, 4; 1, 8, 3 *yātudhānasya somapa jahi prajāṃ nayasva ca*; 4, 37, 10. Mbh. 1, 3, 74 ff..... (prose) *abhyavādayat. ācacakṣe ca. sa cāsya prītimān babhūva. āha cainam*; 89; 113; Mbh. 1, 3, 36 *tam upādhyāyaḥ pīvānam apaśyat. uvāca cainam*; 3, 67, 32 *paryaprecchata tām sarvān...../ ruroda ca bhṛśam*; 69, 3; 70, 3; Aśv. Bc. 6, 66 *bhujau samutkṣipyata tataḥ sa vājibhṛd bhṛśam vicukrośa papāta ca bhūman*; 54; Vikr. p. 24; Budh. BK. 18, 52; 90; 250; 261; 473 etc. The verb can, however, also occupy another position: AV. 11, 9, 15. Cf. also AV. 1, 5, 3 *tasmā araṃ gamāma vo yasya kṣayāya jinvatha/ āpo janayathā ca naḥ* "we would satisfy you in order to that to the possession of which ye quicken, O waters, and generate us". Sometimes the order of words is: adj. *ca* verb: Budh. BK. 18, 70 *ādṛtā cādiśat.....*; the type *uktaś cāsmi punar* id. 18, 124. The particle is separated from the verb by *eva*: Aśv. Bc. 12, 11; by an adverb: Mbh. 3, 68, 31.....*āsīd bhṛśam ca praruroda ha*. Or *ca* does not appear in its ordinary position: Mbh. 3, 68, 27 *atarpayat sudevam ca*.

Not infrequently the subsequent sentences are longer than those in the above instances. Often, however, the verb likewise occupies the same initial position. A particle or other short word may separate the verb and *ca*: Budh. BK. 18, 179 *paśyāmi sma ca*. Examples are: AV. 5, 12, 1.....*ā ca vaha mitramahaś cikityān* "and bring thou (them), understanding (it), o thou of friendly might", 5, 29, 14. Mbh. 3, 57, 28 *skandhadeśe 'srjat tasya srajam...../ varayāmāsa caivainam patitve.....*; 44; 46; 13, 70, 19.....*rajataṃ syandanāms tathā/na jagrāha yayau cāpi tadā sa brāhmaṇarsabhaḥ*; 1, 16, 10; 17, 30; Manu 7, 110 *tathārakṣen nṛpo rāṣṭraṃ hanyāc ca paripanthinaḥ*; 202; 221 *bhuktavān viharec caiva*; cf. also 225. Kāl. R. 11, 39; 49.....*raghavāya tanayām...../atisṛṣṭavān// prāhiṇoc ca.....*; 2, 42; 3, 47d; 56; 6, 27; 14, 80. Jayar. Har. 27, 26; 31. Aśv. Bc. 4, 3 (cf. also 6, 51); very often in Daṇḍin, Dkc., e.g. 76.....*agamam. nyaśāmayaṃ ca.....*; 87.....*anaiṣīt. abhūc ca.....*; 175.....*abhyāsecayat. avardhayac ca*;³⁶ p. 90.....*nagarāyodacalam. adarśam ca.....*; ibid. *alakṣayam..... aprākṣam ca.....*; Varāh. BS. 17, 16. Budh. BK. 18, 38; Pāli Mīl. 111.

In a considerable number of cases the complementary force of a single *ca* is unmistakable. E.g.: ṚV. 5, 30, 3 *vedad avidvāñ chr̥ṇavac ca*

36. For this position of *ca* see also H. JACOBI, *Indog. Forsch.* 5, p. 336 f.; A. BETH, *Variatieverschijselen in het Oud-Indisch*, Thesis Utrecht 1943, p. 43.

vidvān; 6, 50, 6 *sravad id dhavam upa ca stavāno rāsad vājān* "he should listen and, being praised, give....."; 54, 2; 69, 1; 7, 15, 11; AV. 3, 20, 6 *yathā naḥ sarva iḥ janāḥ saṃgatyāṃ sumanā asad dānakāmaś ca no bhuvāt*; 6, 5, 1; 7, 20, 1; 2; 7, 90, 3; 9, 8, 17; 18 *yā majjño nirdhayanti parūṃsi virujanti ca*; KU. 3, 7; 7, 8; Gobh. GS. 3, 1, 32; 7, 12; 4, 4, 6; 7, 26 *tān asvasthānasthān kurvīta, etās caiva devatā abhiyajet*; Mbh. 1, 178, 23 Su.; 3, 60, 4; 13, 293, 7; Aśv. Bc. 4, 58; 84; 5, 40; 6, 17; 8, 15; 12, 42; Kāl. R. 2, 55; 3, 47; 56 (*anya-*); 8, 77; 11, 88; 12, 64; 13, 25; 14, 20. The second of a pair of complementary questions often has *ca*; Mbh. 3, 54, 2 *ke vai bhavantaḥ kaś cāsau.....?*; 62, 30.

Compare also such variations as Manu 4, 20 *viḥānāti viḥānaṃ cāsya rocate*. Cf. in Greek Plato, Leg. 700C. As stated elsewhere³⁷ there is a great profusion of Greek and Latin parallels: Plaut. Poen. 175 *ut deferat/dicatque*.

A similar "Anschlussstellung" is also found in connection with an absolute: Mbh. 1, 3, 43 *sa tathety ukvā gā arakṣat. rakṣitvā ca.....*; 130; 133; 154; 3, 56, 23 *tam apaśyaṃs tathāyāntam...../ dṛṣtvā cainaṃ tato 'pṛcchan.....* "they saw him approach....., and seeing him they asked him"; 4, 11, 40 *apāvrajat...../ praviśya ca.....*; 42 *āsasāda...../...../ upasaṃgamyā ca.....*; cf. also Manu 7, 146; Aśv. Bc. 4, 2 *pratyujjagmur...../ abhigamyā ca.....*; 5, 67 *atha so 'vatatāra.../ avatīrya ca.....*; 57; 8, 8; Kāl. R. 5, 62; 11, 38; 12, 42; (cf. id. 3, 7; 6, 51; 14, 35); Daṇḍin Dkc. p. 168; Budh. BK. 18, 73. Notice cases such as: Mbh. 3, 297, 34 *prajāś tvayaiva niyamena saṃyatā, niyamya caitā nayase nikāmayā*, where the absolute repeats the phrase *niyamena saṃyatā*. Other instances of this recapitulative anaphora or resumption, which is often found in the "primitive" prose of various peoples, are: with a participle, Daṇḍin Dkc. p. 179 *ahaṃ tu.....āruhya atiṣṭham, ārūḍhaś ca lokah.....*; cf. also p. 89; 92; and with a curious position of *ca*: Jayar. Har. 27, 20. In the works of some Greek authors, especially Herodotus and Plato, a participle often repeats a preceding verb. This participle is normally aorist, marking—like the Sanskrit absolute—a temporal progression; the connective following the participle is, however, most commonly *de*, not *te*.

It may in connection with the above constructions of "Anschlussstellung", which are characterized by the close connection between the verb or absolute etc. of the second sentence and the preceding part of the utterance, be remembered³⁸ that this initial position of the verbal word often

37. *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7, p. 198.

38. See the author's monograph *Remarques sur la place du verbe dans la phrase active et moyenne en langue sanscrite*, Utrecht 1952, p. 67. ff.; cf. also p. 26 f., etc.

occurs in order to signify, especially in a vivid narrative, the immediate succession of the processes, the intimate association between the occurrences in both sentences, etc. Very often the speaker or writer does not use any connective particles: ChU. 4, 16, 3 *anyatarām eva vartaniṃ saṃskaroti, hīyate 'nyatarā*; Mbh. 1, 3, 71 (prose) *āvābhyām apūpo datta, upayuktaḥ sa*..... It is significant that the particle *ca* is not only admitted, but often used in these constructions, when they are complementary. It is also worth mentioning that *ca* is not used in those cases which are not properly speaking complementary: TS. 5, 4, 4, 1 *iti pari śiñcati, mārjayaty evainam* (consecutive relation) "with these words he moistens (the fire), and so purifies it"; JB. 1, 121.....*pūtā*.....*abhavann, agacchan svargam lokam*; TS. 5, 1, 2, 3 *bahur vai bhavato bhrātrvyo, bhavatīva khalu vā eṣa yo-* (explicative) "many are the foes of the man who waxes great, he waxes great as it were who....."; BĀU. 1, 3, 7 *devā abhavan, parāsurāḥ. bhavati**ya evam veda* "the gods increased, the demons became inferior. He who knows this increases" (the latter sentence deals with earthly reality, repeating, and made possible by, the mythical reality formulated in the former).

A part of an utterance which, though closely cohering with the preceding clause or clauses, has the character of a complementary addition is usually connected by *ca*: Gobh. GS. 1, 5, 20 (he procures) *ājyaṃ*.....*sruvam anuguptā apa iti, yāni cānukalpam udāhariṣyāmaḥ*; 6, 12; 3, 5, 38 (in these cases *ya-* *ca* may be translated by "what else", Germ. "was sonst"); cf. also 4, 2, 30; 4, 29 (*ca* "moreover"; 31 (*ca* "in addition to....."). MU. 4, 4 a single adjective is added in a similar way: *atha yaiḥ paripūrṇābhībhūto 'yaṃ rathitaś ca tair vaiva muktaḥ*..... The character of the second sentence may be explicative: Daṇḍin Dkc. 78.....*me doṣam eṣā*.....*viññāpayati. doṣaś ca mama*..... This *ca* is also found in an additional remark belonging to a pericope: Gobh. GS. 2, 8, 17; 3, 3, 12.

The same *ca* is found when at the end of a passage or after a succession of sentences with the same subject this subject changes. Gobh. GS. 3, 10, 29 *patnī ca* "die Gattin ihrerseits" (KNAUER).

In ancient prose texts a single word or word group expressing an addition to a preceding clause or sentence, a restriction, etc. is in the same way often subjoined by means of *ca*: in brāhmaṇas the particle not rarely helps to subjoin a single word at the end of a sentence in the sense of "and (so did)": ŚB. 1, 6, 2, 3 *śrameṇa*.....*devā jayanti yad eṣāṃ jayyam āsa ṛsayas ca*. Compare, in addition to this, Gobh. GS. 1, 1, 4 *udagayane pūrva-pakṣe*.....*kālaṃ vidyāt, yathā deśam ca* "sonst je nach besonderer Vorschrift" (KNAUER); 2, 32 *suptvā*.....*rathyām ākramya śmaśānaṃ ca*.....; cf. 1, 7, 1; 2, 1, 16 *lājāṃś caturañjalimātrāñ chūrpeṇopasādayanti*

paścād agneḥ, dr̥ṣatputraṃ ca; 3, 2, 53; 7, 11, where a second object is placed after the verb; 2, 3, 9 *iti patināma gṛhṇāyād ātmanaś ca*, where a genitive which is equivalent to the first member of a preceding compound follows. A second subject is added in this way: 2, 9, 7; a genitive: 2, 10, 19. Cf. also 2, 5, 9; 7, 14; 22; 3, 8, 15; 4, 2, 21; 5, 1; 9, 11. It may be added that sometimes the verb is preceded by a single object and followed by a syndetic or partly syndetic series of other objects: Gobh. GS. 2, 4, 2. It may be remembered that this text is not alone in showing a preference, for instance, for avoiding a double subject with the same verb. Compare in Avestan cases such as Yt. 1, 15 "I am called.....and....., and (ča) these are my names". In technical texts the particle is very frequent: cf. e.g. Brahmasūtra 2, 4, 2 f. *gaṇṇyasambhavāt.....tatprākśruteś ca* "on account of the impossibility of a secondary sense and because that is mentioned first".

Certain words are particularly selected to form, with *ca*, fixed phrases: *anyac ca* in the sense of "besides, moreover":³⁹ Kathās. I, 65 P. has been born under the name of S. Moreover (*anyac ca*), M. has been born under the name of G."; Budh. Bk. 18, 327 // *anyac cāsiddhayātro 'ham*; often, like other *ca* phrases in fables, connecting two stanzas inserted in the prose text. Cf. also Kāl. R. 2, 4 he sent back his retinue, *na cānyatas tasya śārīrarakṣā (puruṣāntarāt, Mallinātha; ca* may be translated by "for", but this is immaterial; what is essential is that protection is given either by others or by the person himself, who are, from this point of view, complements). For *tataś ca* "(and) thereupon" see e.g. Aśv. Bc. 5, 21; Sub. Vās. 298; Budh. BK. 18, 57 (*tatas = kathāntare* or *ānantarye*). In stories and narratives *tathā ca* very often serves to introduce a stanza: "(and) thus"; "for thus".

One of the meanings of the combination *api ca* is to express—like *api* alone—the idea of "moreover"; sometimes it is adversative in character: Manu 3, 221 *pitā yasya nivṛttaḥ syāj jīved vāpi pitāmahaḥ* ("whereas, while").

An interesting phrase is *punaś ca* "further, moreover, again, then again, on the other hand". Cf. e.g. Mbh. 3, 56, 45 *ṛje cāpi aśvamedhena...../punaś ca.....vijahāra*. As *punaḥ* also properly means "again, on the other hand" this combination illustrates the force inherent in *ca* (cf. also the frequent phrase *vā punaḥ = vā*). With regard to *kim ca* the Petrograd Dictionary⁴⁰ contains already some observations of interest. The original sense must have been "(and) some (other thing)". Sometimes it serves to add a complement to an utterance: Kathās. 2, 1 *nāmnā v. kimca k. iti śrutaḥ* "he was known by the name of V. and K."; 10, 13 "he became rich

39. See also SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 330; 338 ff.

40. Petrograd Dictionary II, 286.

and (*kiṃ ca*) a son was born to him". By means of *kiṃ ca* an interlocutor is invited to bring his communication to a conclusion: Kāl. Śak. 5, 30 + "the girl began to cry aloud....": *kiṃ ca* "and then?": "and immediately (*ca*) a flash of light lifted her up". Besides, the phrase is often used to connect two aphorisms or other stanzas inserted in prose texts: Hitopadeśa passim. Often, but not always the second stanza of a pair is introduced by this phrase, beside which we find: *aparaṃ ca, anyac ca*; other sequences are..... *anyac ca.....kiṃ ca;.....aparaṃ ca.....anyac ca*. It is worth mentioning that according to the Indian lexicographers the meanings of *kiṃ ca* are: *sākalya*- "completeness, entireness" and *ārambha*- "commencement". Speaking more generally, any two sentences which have entered into a complementary relation may be connected by the same particle: RV. 1, 113, 10 *kiyāty ā yat samayā bhavāti yā vyūṣur yās ca nūnaṃ vyucchān*; Mbh. 3, 70, 6 *atrīsvabhāvaś calo loke, mama doṣaś ca dārūṇaḥ*; 68, 50; Daṇḍin, Dkc. 85.....*nārthakāmābhyāṃ bādhyate. bādrito 'pi ca.....*; 91.....*anyaś ca.....*; cf. also Āryas. Jātak. 17, 4 + (p. 101, 10 K.); 17, 14; 17; 20; 19, 4; Kāl. R. 10, 39 (*jāne.....*) *viditaṃ tapyamānaṃ ca tena*; cf. also 2, 10; 55 cd; 3, 40 (simultaneousness); 66; 6, 8 etc. The same construction may serve to emphasize reciprocity of action: *ibid.* 17, 5 *jaghāna samare daityaṃ durjayaṃ tena cāvadhi*; or simultaneousness: Daṇḍin, Dkc. 77 *tasmīn eva ca kṣaṇe*.

Grammarians (e.g. Jinendrabuddhi, Nyāsa 2, 2, 29) in describing the construction of the type *bhikṣāṃ aṭa gāṃ cānaya* as *anvācaya*- "connection of a secondary action with a main action" emphasize the subordinate character of the second part of the utterance to which they apply that term.⁴¹

In order to illustrate the use made of the particle *ca* by India's greatest poet in the prose parts of his dramas some passages from the Mālavikāgnimitra may be quoted here:⁴² co-ordinated verbs: 3, 19 + *puṣyati phalati ca*; 2 adj., likewise complementary in sense: 1, 4 +; 3, 10 + *sālaktakaṃ sanūpuraṃ ca* (foot); 2 subst. (compl.) 1, 7 + *prakṛtyamitraḥ pratikūlakārī ca*; 12 + *devena devyā ca pariḡhṛtaḥ*; two objects depending on one verb: 5, 17 +; 1, 12 + the difference between two persons is formulated in the following way: *atrabhavataḥ kila mama ca samudrapalvalayor* (dvandva) *ivāntaram iti*; 4, 6 + two classes of men who ought to behave in the same way: *kumbhīlakaiḥ kāmukaiś ca* "burglars and gallants (must avoid moonlight)"; in the passage 1, 19 + *prabhaviṣyāmi.....pariḡjanasya:: mama ceti brūhi*, the particle can be translated by "too"; 5, 11 + two successive processes of the same nature are connected by *ca*, the verb being expressed once: *iyam apy āṭavikebhyo vīrasenaṃ vīrasenāc ca devīm gatā*.

41. See also RENOUE, *Term. gramm.*, I, p. 45.

42. Quoted in Sanskrit,

We must dwell here upon the type of sentence mentioned last.

In narrative style the single *ca* is indeed often inserted in a clause which expresses a successive action or continuation which, in a manner, brings the action mentioned in the first clause to a state of completeness: Mbh. 1, 3, 20 (prose) *sa.....takṣaśilām praty abhipratasṭhe taṃ ca deśaṃ vaśe sthāpayāmāsa*; 79 f.; 158, 3, 59, 25 (śloka); Jayar. Har. 190. The second sentence contains a complementary action: Mbh. 3, 293, 18 (śloka) *bhaviṣyati/uttaraṃ ca na te.....vyūhartavyam*. Elsewhere, however, this construction helps to express coincidence: Mbh. 1, 3, 86; 114; 155 *adya tat.....dūraṃ cāham.....*; simultaneousness: Mbh. 1, 3, 157; cf. also Aśv. Bc. 8, 19; 46; immediate succession: Mbh. 1, 3, 110; 158 *sā cainaṃ pratyuvāca*; 3, 52, 23 (śl.); Aśv. Bc. 8, 60; 72; Kāl. R. 11, 39; 88; 12, 97; Buddh. Bk. 18, 67; cf. also Aśv. Bc. 5, 4; 8; 28; 29d; 6, 51a;—the relation may even be regarded as consecutive: Aśv. Bc. 5, 25—; or it helps to connect the two parts of a twofold argument: Mbh. 1, 3, 125; to express a thought in an analytical way: Mbh. 1, 3, 33 f. *athāparaḥ śiṣyaḥ.....taṃ ca.....preṣayāmāsa*; or reciprocity: MU. 6, 6 *etasyām idam.....antarhitam, asmiñ ca.....eṣā antarhitā*; Kauṣ. BU. 2, 8; to imply: “on the other hand, on his part, again”: Mbh. 3, 52, 15 (*damayantī.....*) / *nalaś ca.....apratimo bhuvi*. Cf. also Daṇḍin, Dkc. p. 76; 88, 89 etc. The combination *sa ca*—which, in a variety of constructions, occurs for instance also RV. 10, 93, 9.....*deva savitaḥ sa ca stuṣe maghonām*; (cf. 1, 77, 2); AV. 5, 30, 17 *sa ca tvānu hvayāmasi* “we and it call after thee”; Mbh. 3, 52, 5 *prajākāmāḥ sa cāprajāḥ*; Kāl. Śak. 2, 5 *utkarṣaḥ sa ca dhanvinām yad.....*; Hitop. 2, 4 + *atha tena.....jālaṃ vistīrṇam. sa ca pracchanno bhūtvā sthitaḥ* in the Dkc. etc.—can be compared with the Gothic *sah*, i.e. *sa + (u)h* “just this”,⁴³ being distinctly deictic it is especially used to emphasize the agreement or correspondence with the antecedent.

The doubleness of the construction may be emphasized by *dvaya*- and words of similar meaning: Kāl. R. 1, 19. Parallel structures are not infrequently connected by *ca*: Mbh. 3, 59, 14 f. *yathā yathā...../tathā tathā.....//yathā ca...../tathā*. Kāl. R. 76 f. *yaḥ.....yasya ca*. An essentially complementary character may be coupled with an asymmetrical structure: RV. 7, 36, 2. Kāl. R. 10, 38 f.; 16, 74. The particle is sometimes placed in, or after, the first member: RV. 6, 49, 15 *yena janān.....abhi cā kramāma viśa.....abhy aśnavāma*. The character of the second member may be more or less explicative: RV. 5, 78, 5 *śrutam me.....havam s. ca muñcatam* “answer my prayer and set S. free”; Aśv. Bc. 5, 71 (cf. 68).

43. See for instance also W. BRAUNE, *Gotische Grammatik*¹⁰, Halle (S.), p. 87 f.; W. KRAUSE, *Handbuch des Gotischen*, München 1953, p. 185 f.

The relation may be adversative: Aśv. S. 15, 14; cf. 27. Sometimes *ca* must be translated by "on the other hand, however": Kāl. R. 5, 54.

Any close relation between two actions can, however, be emphasized by the insertion of the particle: Aśv. Bc. 7, 41; 8, 14; 27; S. 15, 69; Kāl. R. 3, 29; Bhav. Māl. 1, 24; Jayar. Har. 58; 107; 121; 215; 230. Sometimes there is a considerable distance between the utterances connected; hence probably Śāṅkh. ŚS. 16, 17, 6.⁴⁴ The occurrence of *ca* can combine with anaphora: Pāli Mil. 94. Two successive sentences the subjects or central ideas of which are complementary in nature are connected by *ca* in cases such as: Kāl. R. 4, 5 f. where Lakṣmī is made to serve the king with an umbrella and Sarasvatī to worship him with eulogies. Mbh. 3, 60, 31 *tyajeyam aham ātmānam, na caiva tvām*; 64, 40; 68; 7, 68, 8; 69, 3; Aśv. Bc. 8, 43; 10, 24; Kāl. R. 8, 22; 19, 26 ("but not"); 2, 4 *na ca.....hi*; Hit. 1, 15.

The phrase *na ca* occurring in the second member of a pair of closely connected clauses is very frequent:⁴⁵ it can be equivalent to the Eng. "without.....-ing": Mbh. 3, 61, 17 *katham vāso vikarteyam na ca budhyeta me priyā?* "how could I.....without her noticing it"; 3, 56, 9; Rām. 3, 6, 11; Budh. Bk. 18, 50; Pāli Jāt. I, 111. Elsewhere other translations are required: Kāl. R. 16, 7 "and yet.....not"; 76; cf. also 10, 2; Mbh. 3, 54, 16 "but not". The group *na ca* can be split up: Manu 4, 34; 43; 53. Or the components occur in reverse order: Manu 4, 40 *caiva na*. For *na.....na* see e.g. Kāl. R. 8, 22. Elsewhere this *na ca* helps to formulate two complementary statements containing antithetical ideas: Aśv. Bc. 11, 44 *nityam hasaty eva hi naiva rājā na cāpi saṃtapyata eva dāsaḥ*; S. 15, 32. Or it serves to sharpen the contrast between alternatives or opposite possibilities: Kāl. R. 6, 30 *nāsau na kāmyo na ca veda samyag draṣṭum na sā*; or to eliminate a possibility occurring to a person in connection with the contents of the preceding sentence: Budh. Bk. 18, 20. Two negative sentences, linked together by *ca* are complementary in such passages as: AV. 3, 30, 4 *yena devā na viyanti no ca vidviṣate mithaḥ*. The combination *na ca* can also occur at the beginning of a principal clause following a subordinate clause: Mbh. 13, 100, 26 *bhṛguṃ hi yadi so 'drakṣyat....., na ca śakto 'bhaviṣyat....* The phrase *na ca* can also serve instead of our *than* with a comparative: Pañc. 213 *varam anārambho na cārambhaviḥātāḥ*; Pāli Jāt. I, 153 *aham rajjam jaheyyam na ca tam patiññam*.

The well-known fact that the particle under discussion is, not only in Sanskrit, but also in Greek and Latin—cf. e.g. Homer, Odyssey, 2, 374 "the

44. Cf. CALAND's note (Ś. Ś. S. translated, Nagpur 1953, p. 461).

45. See also *La place de la particule négative na dans la phrase en vieil indien*, Leiden 1951, p. 65 ff.

eleventh or twelfth day" (...te...te); Caes. B. G. 5, 14, 4 *deni duodenique* "ten or twelve each"⁴⁶—, used to express the sense of "but" or "yet" can, if I am not mistaken, likewise be explained from the hypothesis with regard to its "original force" and essential function. Meaning neither exactly "and" neither "or" the particle could even occur in combination with disjunctive conjunctions if the concepts disunited constitute in themselves pairs or some other manifestation of completeness (man: woman, summer: winter, etc.), which of course can, under certain circumstances, here and elsewhere also be interpreted as opposites. Thus we find an adversative *ca* (*ca pakṣāntare* "in the sense of alternative"): Mbh. 3, 52, 5 *prajākāmāḥ sa cāprajāḥ*; 60, 31 *tya-jeyam aham ātmānaṁ na caiva tvām*; 68, 8; 77, 21 (v. l.: *tu*); 297, 54; 12, 144, 3; 13, 70, 22; Manu 2, 2 "to act solely from a desire for rewards is not laudable, yet (*ca*) an exemption from that desire is not found in this world"; 9, 317 *avidvāṁś caiva vidvāṁś ca* "be he ignorant or learned"; Kāl. Māl. 2, 13 + (2 adj.). Compare also such instances as Rām. 1, 9, 21 *strī vā pumān vā yac cānyat sattvam*.⁴⁷ Two sentences may also be connected in this way: Manu 4, 31 *pūjayed...viparītāṁś ca varjayet*; in Pāli Mil. 95; 113; 114; Dhṛ. 2, 6; 4, 11; 9, 4; 5; 18, 11 etc. See also Kāl. R. 10, 2; 1, 80 ("however, but (she), (she) again"). A very strong adversative force is expressed by *ca* in Aśv. Bc. 12, 84 "he proceeded to the hermitage of U., but (*ca*) he did not accept his system". Here CAPPELLER's conjecture was even regarded as probably sound by the editor, JOHNSTON. Cf. also Pāli Jāt. I, 176 *idāni ca* ... "but in this instance..."; cf. also I, 211. Curiously enough we also find ...*ca...vā*: RV. 5, 41, 15; Manu 12, 89 *iha cāmutra vā* "in this world or in the next". A case of *vā...ca* occurs Bhāsa, Vās. 4, 9 (word groups). The phrase *atha ca* can mean "and yet": Kāl. R. 8, 51. The same force is conveyed by *ca* alone: Kāl. Śak. 1, 15 "the site of this hermitage is peaceful, and yet (*ca*) my arm throbs". It may be observed that an adversative asyndeton is not rare: cf. e.g. Mbh. 3, 60, 10 *satkāraṁ na satkṛtaḥ*.

The logical implications of *ca* when linking together two sentences may, of course, sometimes be open to discussion. Incidentally, a commentator states his view: cf. e.g. the commentary on the Śaṅk. Br. attributed to Sāyaṇa, 2, 1, 3 *traya ime lokāḥ...tribhyaś ca retaḥ sicyate: ata eva ca t. r. s.* Thus there are a number of passages where neither "and" nor "but" are completely correct translations: Pāli Mil. 113 "if there were a ninth reason, he would have mentioned it, it is because (*yasmā ca*) there is no other, that he left it unnoticed": however, both sentences are complementary.—As has already been intimated introductory formulas containing *ca* often have an

46. See *Mnemosyne* IV, 7, p. 194 f.; SCHWYZER-DEBRUNNER, o.c., II, p. 574; M. LEU-MANN - J. B. HOFMANN, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München 1928, p. 674.

47. See also the examples given in the Petrograd Dict. II, 904.

implication translated by "for", "thus", or "in accordance with this". A similar sense may be attributed to *ca* in Varāh. BS. 46, 71 "cattle uttering words announce the king's death. Says the sage...": *munivacaś cedam* (these words contain an advice); cf. also 63. In fact, both sentences are complementary.

Submitting a number of uncommon occurrences to a close examination it seems indeed warranted to conclude that the particle occasionally conveys the sense of various subordinating conjunctions. Mbh. 3, 297, 16 *ayaṃ ca dharmasaṃyukto... / nārho mātṛpuruṣair netum; ato 'smi svayam āgataḥ* may be regarded as equivalent to: "because..."; cf. 3, 60, 29 "for, because, isn't it?". This "function" is also given by some Indian lexicographers. Kāl. R. 14, 40 *avaimi cainām anagheti kiṃ tu lokāpavādo balavān nato me* "I know, it is true, that...; although I know that...". A remarkable passage is Kāl. Māl. 4, 8 ...*nirvarṇayitum ca rūpam icchanti.../na ca ...samagrapātīni vilocanāni* "although they wish to observe the beauty..., yet (their) eyes do not fall completely on...". The same sense of "although...yet" is expressed by the double *ca* in Kāl. Vik. 2, 9.

According to lexicographers *ca* could also occur in the sense of *hetu*, i.e., with a causal implication.⁴⁸ Sporadically the particle seems to convey an explicative sense; Nīl. P. 58 *varam lebhe pannagānām ca bhakṣaṇam*. Bhāsa, Vās. 6, 13 *asya snigdhasya varṇasya vipattidāruṇā katham? / idaṃ ca mukhamādhuryaṃ katham dūṣitam agnīnā?* A closer examination of the context however shows that the calamity and the fire are two-in-one, the fire being a manifestation of misfortune.

It may be asked whether there existed any difference between the double and the single *ca* in otherwise identical phrases and clauses. It would appear to the present author that originally, that is to say in those prehistorical times in which these constructions came into general use, the difference mainly was a question of "emphasis". In repeating the particle some emphasis was laid on the "idea" of complementary connection, in pronouncing it once that "idea" was only just indicated. To this conclusion we may come on the strength of a comparison between the relevant facts as found in the ancient documents in the languages concerned. Thus RV. 7, 104, 12 *sac cāsac ca vacasī pasprdhāte* "das wahre und das falsche Wort widerstreiten einander" (GELDNER), and Mbh. 3, 56, 16 (cf. 18) *vācā ca manasā caiva* (Sukt. *vacasā*) obviously insist on the "as well...as" of two complements, whether they are opposites or not. There is therefore room for grave doubts

48. See Petr. Dict. II, 905, sub 9.

about the correctness of the view, expressed by some authorities⁴⁹ that the repeated *ca*, and in Greek the repeated *te*, or generally speaking the repeated **k^{ue}*, is more original than the single. The argument adduced by Schwyzer-Debrunner in favour of this supposition, namely the greater frequency of the repetition in the ancient Indian prose and metrical texts as well as in ancient Greek prose, is not convincing, because in questions of this character the stylistic factor cannot be disregarded. If certain forms of polysyndeton enjoy, for instance for the sake of emphasis or clearness, the favour of many authors belonging to an archaic period, this does not necessarily mean that their usage represents the normal state of affairs in the every-day speech of the preceding prehistoric period. If the very character of their works and the subjects of their expositions lead them to a greater precision in details, to an explicit expression of the mutually complementary character of word pairs, if they are often discussing pairs of beings or concepts and complementary concepts in general, the chances are that their writings give no true idea of the language in familiar conversation underlying the literary usage. In studying hundreds of passages containing the double or single *ca* the present author had the impression that generally speaking the original force of the former has better been retained than that of the latter.

It seems that the true character of *ca* is especially clear from those cases in which it is used as often as possible to connect entities which constitute a group or whole if they are enumerated completely.⁵⁰ Often the numeral is added. AV. 9, 1, 22 the seven "honeys" (*sapta madhūni*) are enumerated: *brāhmaṇas ca rājā ca dhenuś cānaḍvāṁś ca vrīhiś ca yavaś ca madhu saptamam* "the brahman...and honey (proper) the seventh";⁵¹ 10, 7, 22 *ādityās ca rudrās ca vasavaś ca*; cf. RV. 6, 63, 8. PB. 19, 1, 14 *aṣṭau...r. ca* etc.; (8 ×); JB. 1, 120; 158 *gāṁ cāśvaṁ cājāṁ cāvīṁ ca*; BĀU. 3, 9, 3 the 8 Vasus (a class of gods) are enumerated as follows: *agniś ca pṛthivī ca vāyuś cāntarikṣaṁ cādityaś ca dyauś ca candramās ca nakṣatrāṇi ca, ete vasavaḥ*; cf. 7. JUB. 1, 46, 2 gives a similar catalogue of the 16 parts of Prajāpati. In both cases the numeral was mentioned before. Similarly 2, 1, 1; 4, 25, 1. SMB. 2, 4, 5 *tapaś ca tejaś ca...* (14 items) *tāni prapadye tāni mām avantu*. Without the numeral: JUB. 1, 54, 8. Cf. also AV. 11, 8, 25 *vidyās ca vā*

49. See e.g. O. BOEHTLINGK und R. ROTH in the Petrograd Dictionary, II, 903; SCHWYZER - DEBRUNNER, o.c., II, p. 573. Cf. also Petr. Dict. II, 903 s.v. *ca*: "im RV. ist das doppelt gesetzte *ca* noch häufiger als das einfache". Otherwise: K. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*² II, 3, Strassburg 1916, p. 1006; see also DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 472.

50. For striking parallels in Greek and Latin see *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7, p. 193 f. DELBRÜCK's notes (*Vergl. Syntax der indogerm. Sprachen* III, p. 192 ff.) are inadequate.

51. For this use of the so-called ordinal number see the author's "Observations on ordinal numbers", in Bingkisan Budi, *Festschrift—Ph. S. van Ronkel*, Leyden 1950, p. 135 ff.

avidyāś ca yac cānyad...; TĀ. 1, 13, 3 *mitraś ca varuṇaś ca dhātā cāryamā ca*, etc. (8 ×); BĀU. 3, 5, 1; 3, 8, 3; 4. Cf. also Manu 7, 29; and in Pāli Mil. 107: six young nobles and six times *ca*.

Among those exceptions which are of interest is BĀU. 6, 3, 13 where the former six of ten cereals are coupled two and two in three dvandva compounds, at least two of which are of frequent occurrence, and the other four are syndetically added.

An asyndetic enumeration serves, in the same texts, to bring to our notice entities which constitute an unlimited series: RV. 7, 86, 6; AV. 1, 9, 1 *indraḥ pūṣā varuṇo mitro agniḥ*; 11, 9, 24. When some of the pupils of a teacher are mentioned the word *ca* is not used: JUB. 3, 7, 2 *sudakṣiṇo ha vai kṣaimiḥ prācīnasālir jābālau te ha sabrahmacāriṇa āsuh*; it is also omitted in giving any random collection: of the constituents of a personality: JUB. 3, 27, 14 *mano me reto me prajā me...*; of gods: BĀU. 1, 4, 11; of qualities: 1, 5, 3; Mbh. 3, 58, 10; branches of learning, oblations, etc.: BĀU. 4, 1, 2; 4, 5, 11; colours: 4, 3, 20; brothers: Mbh. 1, 3, 1: although the numeral is mentioned it reads *tasya bhrātāras trayāḥ śrutāsena ugraseno bhīmasena iti* "he had three brothers, S., U., and Bh.": this construction seems to be common before *iti*, cf. e.g. also 1, 3. A passage like BĀU. 5, 2, 1 is on the other hand not contrary to expectation, only a limited number of P.'s descendants being mentioned: *trayāḥ prajāpatyāḥ...*, *devā manuṣyā asurāḥ*. Mbh. 1, 3, 22 we find: *tasya śiṣyās trayo babhūvur upamanyur aruṇir vedaś ceti*.

Many authors provide an interesting usage of the repeated *ca*: when in a description of some extent in which various topics are touched upon part of the subjects are more intimately connected they are not seldom marked by a succession of *cas*. AiB. 7, 32, 4 in enumerating ten sacrificial utensils the vessel which is to receive the soma juice after the straining and the vessel in which it is stirred and cleansed are connected by a double *ca*: they obviously form a pair: cf. e.g. VS. 18, 21;⁵² 8, 5, 3 *dadhi madhu sarpir ātapavarṣyā āpaḥ śaṣpāṇi ca tokmāni ca surā dūrvā*, young, sprouting grass and young sprouts of barley being closely associated. An interesting passage is 7, 30, 2 "now this is his proper food: ...the descending growths and the fruits of the nyagrodha and (the fruits of) the u., a., and p. trees":⁵³ *nyagrodhasyāvarodhās ca phalāni caudumbarāṇy āśvatthāni plākṣāṇi...* Kaus. BU. 1, 3 in describing the brahmā world the various places and beings to be seen there are enumerated, asyndetically but for *priyā ca mānaśi pratirūpā ca cākṣuṣi* "the beloved Mānaśi and her counterpart (N.B.) Cākṣuṣi" (the deities of mind and sight) who are said to weave the worlds, and the

52. See also W. CALAND et V. HENRY, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 123.

53. Cf. the commentary attributed to Sāyaṇa.

Mothers and Nurses whose names are partly identical: *ambās cāmbāyavīs* ca; Kāl. Ragh. 10, 61-63 describing the dreams of Daśaratha's wives join together their vision of a visit to the celestial residences where they are waited upon by Lakṣmī and worshipped by the seven sages: ...*ca...uhyante...//...paryupāsyaṇta...ca...//...ca...upatasthire*. Cf. also Aśv. Bc. 12, 75; Kāl. R. 13. 27; Nil. Pur. 48 where in an enumeration of mythological beings the yakṣas and rākṣasas are associated by a repeated *ca*. Metrical convenience has however been an important factor in enumerations such as *Manu* 7, 160 *saṃdhiṃ ca vighraṇaṃ caiva yānam āsanam eva ca/dvaidhībhāvaṃ saṃśrayaṃ ca ṣaṭ...*, cf. 161: *āsanam caiva yānam ca saṃdhiṃ vighraṇam eva ca...* See also Mbh. 3, 59, 23. The same tendency to connect, in a more or less extended enumeration of substantives, those which are more closely associated by a single or double *ca*, the others preceding or following asyndetically is already proper to the documents of the early period: RV. 6, 24, 5 *mitro no atra varuṇāś ca pūṣā*; cf. also 5, 43, 10; 6, 50, 1. AV. 3, 6; 2 *indreṇa vṛtraghnā ...mitreṇa varuṇena ca*; 9, 2, 3 *duṣvapnyam...duritam ca...aprajastām asvatatām avartim*; AV. 1, 30, 4; 5, 28, 2 (where the two members connected by *ca* are the last ones of a series of nine). However, an incomplete polysyndeton may also serve instead of a complete...*ca...ca* chain in very long enumerations: see e.g. Varāh. BS. 48, 55-69: names of divinities concluded by *ete cānye ca bahavaḥ...*

As has already been remarked a polysyndeton is sometimes also accompanied by a numeral: AV. 9, 1, 22 (see above); JB. 1, 181 *ṣaṭ kāmādughā udāharan: gāṃ cāśvaṃ cājāṃ cāviṃ ca vṛhiṃ ca yavaṃ ca*; PB. 19, 1, 4; Aśv. Bc. 4, 64 *ahitāt pratiṣedhaś ca hite cānupravartanam / vyasane cāparityāgas trividhaṃ mitralakṣaṇam*; Kāl. R. 8, 78 *samatītaṃ (= bhūtaṃ) ca bhavac ca bhāvi ca...tritayam*; Pāli Mil. 101; 107; 115. Incidentally a word for "all (of them)" is added: Rām. 2, 56, 16 *sītā ca rāmaś ca lakṣmaṇāś ca.../abhiḡamyāśramaṃ sarve*.

Sometimes it is not at first sight evident that an exhaustive enumeration of entities is meant, e.g. *Manu* 4, 135 *kṣatriyaṃ caiva sarpaṃ ca brāhmaṇam ca...* where the combination: kṣatriya, snake, brahman, may surprise a modern reader; yet the words *etat trayam* in the next stanza put this point beyond doubt.

However, the occurrence of a numeral not necessarily entails a polysyndeton. AiB. 7, 15, 7 *trayaḥ putrāḥ...ś. ś. ś. iti*; 2, 24, 1; Vaikh. G.S. 2, 12 (fifty items); AiU. 3, 1, 3; *Manu* 7, 215 the exigencies of the metre obviously prevailed: *upetāram upeyam ca sarvopāyāṃś ca.../ etat trayam*; cf. also *Manu* 7, 160; Mbh. 12, 266, 13 (*ubhau*). Of course the type *jīvitam maraṇam cobhe* is not uncommon either: Mbh. 14, 19, 4. In Pāli Mil. 116 *dasasu thānesu yame niyame...* For Mbh. 1, 3, 1 see above.

Although it is naturally difficult to explain why in a particular case an author has preferred a polysyndeton when the idea of mutual completion of the terms connected is not obvious, it would appear to me that this construction was not infrequently chosen in a string of single words, or short clauses, with a certain stylistic effect, in order to suggest completeness, generality, or comprehensiveness. It seems to occur in this way in emotional passages and vivid descriptions. Mbh. (1, 16, 23 *dadāha kuñjarāṁś caiva viniḥsṛtān*;) 11, 18, 7 *bhrātṛṁś cānyāḥ patīṁś cānyāḥ putrāṁś ca nihātān raṇe*, 17 *śatacandrāṇi carmāṇi dhvajāṁś cādityasaṁnibhān / raukmāṇi caiva varmāṇi niṣkān api ca kāñcanān/śīrṣatrāṇāni caitāni putrāṇām me mahītale/ paśya*.....; 12, 148, 4 *kandareṣu ca śailānām nadīnām ca nirjhareṣu ca/ drumāgreṣu ca ramyeṣu ramitāhaṁ tvayā saha*; 266, 52 *hatvā sādhvīm ca nārīm ca vyaśanivāc ca vāsītām/bhartavyatvena bhāryām ca ko nu māṁ tārāyīṣyati?*; 3, 298, 10 *yathāśya bhāryā sāvitṛī tapasā ca damena ca/ ācāreṇa ca saṁyuktā, tathā jīvati satyavān*; cf. also 3, 63, 9 *yūthāśo dadṛṣe*.... / *mahiṣāṁś ca varāhāṁś ca ṛkṣāṁś ca vanapannagān*; Bhagavad-gītā 1, 8 f.; Rām. 2, 100, 63; Bhāsa, Vās. 6, 18; Manu 9, 15; Pāli Mil. 98 "it has been foreseen.....*kathitaṇ ca bhaṇitaṇ ca ācikkhitaṇ ca*; Dhṛp. 17, 8. Compare also AiB. 8, 24, 5 and 6.....*svargaṁ lokam abhivahanti kṣatraṁ ca balam ca rāṣṭraṁ ca viśam ca*.

But not only did Indian writers use this "emotional polysyndeton"—cf. e.g. also Mbh. 7, 184, 38—to connect minor units: sometimes they also repeat the particle in sentences of an emotional character: AV. 2, 6, 2 in a prayer to Agni: *saṁ cedhyasvāgne pra ca vardhayemam ucca tiṣṭha mahate saubhagāya*; Mbh. 3, 60, 33 ff.; 12, 266, 49. It is true that in those languages which for the most part dispense with connection, an occasional polysyndeton, generally speaking, produces a greater stylistic effect than in idioms in which the device is more intensively utilized. Yet the observation seems to be not out of place here that polysyndeton, in contradistinction to the summarizing and accelerating force borne by asyndeton, is apt to reduce the tempo of the narrative and to lay emphasis on each of the components of a series of words. A polysyndetic enumeration of a number of entities of similar character can also in spoken language be a favourite means of paraphrasing, in an emphatic way, the content of an idea. Cf. e.g. Rām. 2, 56, 3 *jahau nidrām ca tandrām ca prasaktaṁ ca pariśramam*.

At the end of an episode or narrative a polysyndeton of this character may be specially impressive: Pāli Jāt. I, 197.....*eva uttamāṇ ca anavajjaṇ ca dighāyulakkaṇaṇ ca*. A more or less complete polysyndeton can also serve to mark that a series of clauses or sentences belong closely together: Aśv. Bc. 12, 85 ff. "the sage U. found a way characterized by.....,

and since.....therefore he thought" (3: *yasmāc ca* etc.);⁵⁴ cf. also *ibid.* 35 ff.; 73 ff.; *Áśv. Bc.* 7, 20; 12, 75; *Pāli Dhp.* 8, 11-16 six times *yo ca....* The same device may be exploited instead of an "equalization" (as.....as): *Pāli Jāt.* I, 200 *pesuññakārake ca raññe ca hattimhi ca attano sarīre ca ekasadisam eva mettāṃ bhāvēthā 'ti* "love the slanderer, the king, and the elephant as yourselves". The construction *BĀU.* 3, 1, 7, which constitutes an exception, is in this connection also worth mentioning: *tisraḥ..... puro'nuvākyā ca yājyā ca śasyaiva tṛtiyā*. A polysyndeton, though kept up for a considerable time, may be interrupted in very long enumerations: e.g. *Manu* 7, 207 ff., where this process is facilitated by inserting dvandva compounds and groups of closely connected terms. Minor interruptions of the *niṣadho nīlaparvataḥ*; 93 ff.; 113 ff. No more examples are needed.

Many instances of complete or incomplete polysyndeton may probably be explained from the well-known tendency to add another item to a series which had already been marked by a provisionally concluding *ca*: *Mbh.* 3, 60, 22 *vindhya.....payoṣṇī ca...../āśramās ca*; cf. 63, 109; *Manu* 5, 138 *kṛtvā mūtram puriṣam vā khāny ācānta upaspr̥ṣet/vedam adhyeṣyamāṇas ca annam aśnaś ca sarvadā*; 7, 10; 11; 201; 209; 9, 330. *Áśv. Bc.* 12, 38 *draṣṭā śrotā ca mantā ca kāryakaraṇam eva ca*; cf. also *Kāl. R.* 7, 28; 14, 30, and the type *Mbh.* 3, 63, 123 *sārthavāham ca sārtham ca, janā ye cātra kecana*. Similarly in a more extended, mainly asyndetic series: *Pañc. Hertel* 1, 141 *āhaś ca rātriś ca ubhe ca saṃdhye*. Cf. also *Ratnāvali* 4, 10. A good example of this additional clause with *ca* is *Mbh.* 4, 21, 11 *Utg.*: after having promised a hundred *niṣkas* the speaker first completes his promises by adding a hundred woman-servants (*ca*), and a hundred man-servants (*api ca*) and a chariot (*ca*). Compare also the curious stanza *Varāh. BS.* 34, 12. Or the above factor may combine with exigencies of the metre: *Manu* 10, 50 *pānam akṣāḥ striyaś caiva mṛgayā ca yathākramam*; 115. In innumerable cases, especially in later times, the exigencies of metre and versification prevail: *Manu* 4, 120; *Nīl. Pur.* 34 *himavān hemakūṭas ca* followed by *niṣadho nīlaparvataḥ*; 93 ff.; 113 ff. No more examples are needed.

In the above way *ca*, *caiva*, *eva ca* etc. have easily developed into additive conjunctions serving to extend a series: *Manu* 7, 41 *veno vinaṣṭaḥ.....nahuśas caiva...../ sudāḥ paijavanaś caiva, sumukho nimir eva ca*; 42; 43.

We may in this connection also compare *RV.* 7, 4, 5 *tam oṣadhīś ca vanināś ca garbham bhūmiś ca.....bibharti* "him (Agni) the (medicinal) herbs, and the trees — which form a pair — (bear) as their embryo, and — to complete the number — the earth bears (notice the singular) (him)".

54. For a similar use in Greek see *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7, p. 274, etc.

Similarly, AV. 5, 23, 6 *dr̥ṣtām̐s ca ghnann ad̥ṣtām̐s ca sarvām̐s ca pram̐ṇan krim̐n*. Thus a complete polysyndeton can sometimes be analyzed likewise into two or more elements, part of which belong more closely together. Another instance of this phenomenon is Aśv. Bc. 7, 23.

Special attention may be drawn to the fact that the use of *ca* is by no means compulsory. Like the related languages (cf. e.g., in Latin, Plaut. Trin. 287 *dies noctes*; Curc. 280 *noti ignoti etc.*⁵⁵) ancient Indian has such phrases as RV. 5, 64, 6 *rāye svastaye*; 7, 56, 20 *tanayaṃ tokam*; 5, 41, 14 *daivyaṇi p̐rthivāṇi*; 1, 33, 10 *divaḥ p̐rthivyā antam* "the end of sky and earth". As is well-known, asyndetic phrases of this type are frequently used in many languages, also in the cases under consideration. Nor are they limited to substantives. Such word groups as AiB. 2, 4, 9 *vṛṣṭim annādyam* 2, 11, 2 *tejasī brahmavarcaṣī*; 13, 6 *yajñena śrameṇa tapasāhuti-bhiḥ svargaṃ lokam ajayan*; 23, 7; 24, 1 (with a numeral); 40, 7; 9; JUB. 1, 43, 11 (a long sequence of adjectives) are far from rare, such as Mbh. 3, 53, 26 *sagaṇāḥ sahaṇāḥ* are even highly frequent. Whether a complete characterization would require other coordinated terms or not is not always clear. Anyhow, the author is not explicit on this point. We are sometimes in a position to ascertain a certain preference for a polysyndeton in cases where other authors would combine the words asyndetically, thus Aś. G. 3 *yuttā ca rājūka ca prādesika ca*: K. etc. without *ca*. As stated on one of the preceding pages, asyndeta of more than two members are, however, as a rule enumerative in character, counting up a more or less arbitrary, but not exhaustive, number of entities belonging to the same category: RV. 7, 86, 6 (seduction lies in) *surā manyur vibhīdako acittiḥ* "spirituous liquor, anger, dice, infatuation"; JB. 1, 160 *asurāṇāṃ tejo balam indriyaṃ vīryaṃ paśūn annādyam*; 161 the animals *nānārūpā abhavan*: *śveto rohiṭaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ*; Mbh. 12, 143, 11 *dirghajaṅgho hrasvapādo mahāvaktro mahāhanuḥ*; 3, 53, 2 *tataś cintāparā dīnā vivaṇavadanā kṛṣā/babhūva*.....; 54, 13; 56, 24; 61, 6; 24; 63, 66; in a random enumeration of epithets: Mbh. 1, 3, 148. Cf. also RV. 5, 54, 7; 57, 7; 6, 18, 8; Aśv. Bc. 12, 24, and such sequences as are found in the same work: 4, 54 *na jaharṣa na vivyathe*, as opposed to 58 *krīḍanti ca hasanti ca*. In Pāli: Mil. 115 *atthi me*.....*āgamo adhigamo pariyatti savanaṃ sikkābalaṃ etc.*: 102; 105 etc. Versification and other factors however came in the śloka literature largely to contribute to the practice of inserting some *cas* in long enumerations: see e.g. Manu 5, 11 ff. The consistent asyndetic co-ordination of sequences of short sentences containing a series of successive processes — e.g. AiU. 1, 1, 3 *mukhaṃ nirabhidyaṭa yathāṇḍam, mukhād vāg, vāco 'gñiḥ* — often found in prose texts of the

55. See *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7, p. 192, with n. 2. For Hindi see E. GREAVES, *Hindi Grammar*, Allahabad 1933, p. 398.

older periods can on the other hand help us in attaining to an insight into the subtle differences originally existing between.....*ca*.....*ca* and an asyndeton.

Although in purāṇas and other works of that description the exigencies of versification and metrical convenience play an important part, a more or less consistently repeated *ca* is nevertheless still frequent in enumerations which are meant to be complete: Matsya Pur. 5, 21 ff. *āpo dhruvaś ca somaś ca dharaś caivānilo 'nalaḥ/pratyūśaś ca prabhāśaś ca vasavo 'ṣṭau prakīrtitāḥ//āpasya putrāś catvāraḥ: śānto vaitaṇḍa eva ca/śāmbho 'tha maṇivaktraś ca*; in 28 f. six times *ca* in an enumeration of eleven names; in 6, 9 thrice in a series of four. But 6, 4 an enumeration of the twelve Ādityas has only an *eva ca* at the end, and for metrical reasons an *atha* after the fifth name, although the number twelve is added. However, the use of the particle was never obligatory.

Although it cannot be part of our task to study here also the syntactic and stylistic value of the asyndeton, mention may be made of some of the effects which can be obtained by dispensing with sentence connection: Aśv. Bc. 12, 106 *durlabhaṃ śāntam ajaram param tad amṛtaṃ padam*; does the poet suggest here that the number of similar epithets can be extended *ad libitum*? A similar effect seems to have been achieved by the same poet 8, 25 "they wailed not, they dropped no tears (in short), they stood like figures in a picture". If it be permitted to insert here some other instances of asyndetic succession of clauses and sentences, attention might be drawn to the adversative force borne by the particleless juxtaposition in Aśv. Bc. 8, 57 *pradātum evābhyucito na yācitum*. Elsewhere the same poet avails himself of this "device" to enhance the effect of a chiasmus: 8, 70 *dhṛtim na sasmāra cakāra no hriyam*; cf. also 12, 26. In building up a climax an asyndeton can render good services: Aśv. Bc. 12, 101 *nāyaṃ dharmo virāgāya na bodhāya na muktaye*. In the more or less lapidary style of proverbs, sapiential stanzas, etc., the asyndeton is often maintained: Mbh. 12, 266, 13 *anavajñā pitur yuktā, dharaṇaṃ mātṛrakṣaṇam*; KU. 2, 2, 12 *teṣāṃ sukhaṃ śāśvataṃ netareṣāṃ*. An asyndetic succession of clauses or sentences is, for instance in sūtras, very common: Gobh. GS. 1, 2, 11 ff.; 3, 5, 24 ff.; 7, 1 ff.

It may further be remembered that, besides the asyndeton proper and various other particles, the demonstrative pronoun, especially the stem *tad*, is often a fit instrument for annexing a new sentence. It is not correct to disregard, with SPEYER,⁵⁶ the difference between this method of coordination and the use of the particle *ca*. In the simple, archaic prose style of

56. SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 337.

the narrative parts of the brāhmaṇas, the Pauṣya episode of the Mahābhārata, etc., this function of the demonstrative pronoun⁵⁷ is obvious: the narrative is continued, another element is added: JB. 2, 249 *indro vai marutaḥ samajinot svām viśam... tad yamo 'nvabudhyata... sa āgacchat sa etyābravīt...*; Mbh. 1, 3, 1 ff. *... tasya... teṣu... sa... tam* etc. That this style can, in a way, be compared with the "en toen" style of Dutch children ("en toen" = "and then") and similar preference for polysyndetic connection of sentences in other languages, is perfectly true, but it does not follow that in a language which, like Sanskrit, possesses the demonstrative polysyndeton as well as a particle of the force expressed by *ca*, both devices are equivalent and interchangeable. If in the archaic style *ca* is used to connect two clauses or sentences it has its own specific and distinct value. Thus Mbh. 1, 3, 22 *sa... takṣaśilāṃ praty abhipratasṭhe taṃ ca deśaṃ vaśe sthāpayāmāsa* "he marched against T. and conquered that country" involves that the military expedition was, in the eye of the speaker, without more ado, complemented by the conquest of the country, both events being regarded as forming a unity, whereas *taṃ deśaṃ*, etc., would, or could⁵⁸ have induced the hearer to take the conquest as a separate fact. Notice also the case represented by Mbh. 1, 3, 31 f. *upatasthe. provāca cainam* where a demonstrative pronoun is absent. The combination *sa ca*, which is dealt with in another part of this publication, is not infrequently used (cf. also *tatra ca*, *tataś ca*) to signify or suggest a rather intimate connection or close succession. In various styles *ta- ca* may serve to link the main points of the narrative together: Budh. Bk. 18, 15 "I had a friend", *sa ca mām abravīt*; Sub. Vās. 130; 148 (where another text has: "and immediately") etc.

Many cases of incomplete polysyndeton are also worth examining. It has already been observed that words which, denoting closely connected concepts, often form a fixed group are not rarely, by means of this particle, distinguished from their neighbours which, standing conceptually apart, are asyndetically added. Or terms which belong more closely together are paired by *ca... ca*, the pairs themselves being asyndetically placed one after the other. Similarity of the outward form (alliteration, etc.) has also played a part in this connection. AV. 3, 22, 2 *mitraś ca varuṇaś cendro rudraś ca cetatuḥ*; 11, 7, 25 *prāṇāpānau cakṣuḥ śrotram akṣitiś ca kṣitiś ca yā*; 8, 20 *steyaṃ duṣkṛtaṃ... / balaṃ ca kṣatram ojaś ca*; 21; 22; 26; cf. also 1, 15, 4; 10, 3, 12; 4, 17; 11, 8, 21; 12, 3, 46; cf. also Mbh. 1, 16, 36S.; 3, 63, 7; 10; 23; 85; 14, 19, 37; Manu 4, 19; 36; Jayar. Har. 134 f.; Pāli Dh. 15, 12; Jāt. I, 128

57. We leave the combination *ta-*, *ha*, etc., undiscussed here.

58. Since *ca (...ca)* expresses complementary connection, its absence does not, or not explicitly, express that connection, that is to say: it does in itself not indicate whether this connection is present or absent.

etaṁ saraṁ gantvā nahātvā ca pivitvā ca...ānehīti, 109 *phālet vā...pacitvā bhuñjītvā goṇe ca bhojetvā*. The exigencies of rhythm, metre, and assonance have no doubt often made their influence felt: AV. 6, 96, 3; 11, 7, 17; 8, 15; 27; 28. Thus Gobh.GS. 2, 4, 2 (prose) *nadīs ca viṣamāṇi ca mahāvṛkṣān śmaśānaṁ ca* constitutes a sequence of $2 \times 8 = 16$ syllables. But is it only due to the metre that in Mbh. 3, 293, 5 *brahmaṇyaś ca mahātmā ca* are, in a long series of asyndetically co-ordinated epithets, connected by the repeated *ca*?

An incomplete syndetical series of clauses is far from uncommon. Often, however, the significance of a succession of syndeta and asyndeta is perfectly clear from the character of the clauses or sentences connected. When AV. 2, 13, 3 two sentences referring to an "historical" event are followed by two sentences containing an imperative, and only the latter pair is syndetically coupled, it is obvious that the second half of the stanza, which stands on a different footing from the rest, is explicitly marked as forming a twofold whole: "have a long life and become rich", whereas the units constituting the first half are different in character: "you have put on this garment..., you have become protector of...". Cf. also (Pāli) Mil. 107, 1. 2 f. In many other cases the last member of a more or less homogeneous series contains the particle: AV. 3, 1, 1; 2, 1; MU. 4, 6 *abhidhyāyed arcayen niḥnuyāc ca*; Daṇḍin, Dkc. 77 *sā tu savṛḍheva saviṣādeva sagauraveva cābravīt*; 92 at the end of a series of five *sva*-compounds; 86 (compounds). Or *caiva* comes before the last member of a series: MU. 6, 7 *tatra hi śṛṇoti paśyati jighrati rasayati caiva sparśayati*.

There can be no point in studying here the order of words in various other types of sentences: Mbh. 3, 56, 23 *manovīśuddhiṁ ca bhaktiṁ rāgaṁ ca naiśadhe*; Rām. 2, 56, 3; Aśv. Bc. 12, 40 *pratibuddhāprabuddhau ca vyaktam avyaktam eva ca*; 17; 19. However, the requirements of versification, the influence of traditional groupings of words, etc., led the authors also to desist from using polysyndeton, making it at the same time explicit that the enumeration consists of a number of pairs: Manu 7, 160 *saṁdhiṁ ca vighrahaṁ caiva yānam āsanam eva ca / dvaidhībāvaṁ saṁśrayaṁ ca*; Pāli Dhp. 10, 13; 16, 10. Elsewhere alliterative or rhyming words are placed together: Aśv. Bc. 12, 22; Mbh. 3, 64, 30; Vikr. 7, 8 *nadīnāṁ ca nakhināṁ ca* in an otherwise asyndetic sequence. When occurring in the last member of a series of clauses the particle often combines with other elements, producing a favourite succession of shorter and longer elements of the utterance. Thus we find: AV. 4, 5, 5 *ya āste yaś carati yaś ca tiṣṭhan vipaśyati*; cf. 6, 40, 1; ŚvU. 1. 1...*kutaḥ sma jātā, jīvāma kena, kva ca sampratiṣṭhāḥ?* Mbh. 12, 266, 55 *trāhi māṁ mātaraṁ caiva tapo yac cārjitaṁ mayā...*

In the position at issue, at the end of an asyndetic series the particle *ca* may often be said to have a concluding force, emphasizing the fact that an enumeration of items which belong to the same category or predication has now come to an end. Not rarely the enumeration seems to be limitative, but in most cases we cannot know this for certain, the particle obviously mainly serving to mark that the enumeration has reached its close. AV. 12, 1, 53 *agniḥ sūrya āpo medhām viśve devās ca saṃ daduḥ*; cf. also 1, 14, 4; 23, 1; 4, 32, 3; 33, 2; 5, 6, 9; 21, 2; 6, 112, 3; 9, 1, 17; 11, 7, 22; BĀU. 4, 4, 9 (metr.) *śuklam...haritam lohitaṃ ca*; 4, 1, 2; ŚU. 6, 11 *eko devaḥ* followed by 9 epithets the last of which is followed by *ca*; Gobh. GS. 1, 2, 11-27; 32; 1, 8, 17; 2, 8, 19; 10; 41; 3, 3, 22; 8, 3; 4, 4, 29 etc. MU. 2, 7 at the end of a series of 8 adjectives; 6, 13 *annavān prāṇavān manasvān vijñānavān ānandavān ca bhavati*; 25; at the end of a series of 4 adjectives: Kauṣ. BU. 4, 19. Cf. also cases such as RV. 6, 52, 14; 7, 62, 2; AV. 2, 10, 6; 6, 102, 3; 7, 67, 1; AiB. 7, 32, 4 at the end of an enumeration of ten utensils, two of which are more closely connected by *ca.....ca* (see above). Often in Vaikh. GS. e.g. p. 8, 10 *devā ṛṣayaḥ pitaro.....yajñās ca*; p. 38, 10; 39, 10; 43, 11; 49, 10. Sequences like AV. 1, 19, 4 *yaḥ.....yo.....yaś ca* are well-known. Cf. also AV. 4, 16, 8; 5, 6, 10; Bhav. Māl. 1, 28; 2, 5, and cases like AV. 11, 7, 75; 12, 1, 5. A concluding value is for instance also proper to *ca* in cases such as Vaikh. GS. 1, 4 *in fine* where it may be translated by "finally"; 1, 14 "in the east....., the west etc., and then (finally, *ca*) all around, sunwise". Compare also such more complicated structures as Kāl. R. 11, 11; Pāli Dh. 20, 1.

The well-known tendency to retard the rhythm of the last part of an utterance and to make it somewhat longer and heavier must also have exerted influence upon the predilection for the terminating "and" in various languages. Compare e.g. also Pañc. Hert. 1, 158 *striyo 'kṣā mṛgayā pānaṃ vākpāruṣyaṃ ca pañcamam*. Whereas in cases such as AV. 6, 85, 2 *indrasya vacasā vayaṃ mītrasya varuṇasya ca/devānām sarveṣām vācā.....ca* which connects the intimate colleagues M. and V. occupies, in a natural way, the last position in a half-verse; whereas 7, 109, 2 *sikatā apaś ca*, which are more closely connected than the preceding words with which they are on a par, whilst filling up the half-verse conclude it as a heavier group; whereas in stanzas such as Mbh. 3, 63, 5 ff. the particle is preferably put at the end of a pāda, there can on the other hand be no doubt that *ca* at the end, or in a last word group, of a stanza, half-verse or sentence, is very often used only to indicate that the enumeration reaches its close. It may be observed that on this point the Greek language has developed another idiom.

The last member of the enumeration contains *anya-* Gobh. GS. 2, 4, 3 *akṣabhaṅge naddhavimokṣe yānaviparyāse 'nyāsu cāpatsu*. This device was also adopted by kāvya authors: Aśv. Bc. 12, 13; 18; 23; 11, 59: 8, 57. Cf.

also Budh. Bk. 18, 113; Kāl. R. 13, 19; Sub. Vās. 150; Daṇḍin, Dkc. 86; 87. It may be said that this position of *ca* often is a case of the tendency to place longer and "heavier" parts of a word group, clause or sentence at the end (Behaghel's tendency). This is especially clear if the member accompanied by *ca* is already longer than the members connected with it: AV. 1, 23, 1 *rāme kṛṣṇe asikni ca*; 3, 20, 4 *ādityaṃ viṣṇuṃ sūryaṃ brahmāṇaṃ ca brhaspatim*; 4, 20, 2; 8, 1, 20; 5, 10; 8, 9; 10, 9, 9; 11, 7, 15; 9, 1; 16; 17. Notice the sequence a b (c) *ya- ca d*, e.g. AV. 12, 2, 14. A double *ca* group is placed at the end of an enumeration: AV. 8, 8, 9. Mbh. 3, 52 (Nala 1), 9; 10; 63, 51; 63. The insertion of *eva* before *ca* has a similar effect: Aśv. Bc. 12, 33; cf. also 12, 17; 23; 28. Ibid. 4, 60 we have a real climax: *jīrṇaṃ vyāditaṃ mṛtaṃ eva ca*. In this connection the structure of such lines as Aśv. Bc. 11, 31 *vināśam ūyuh kuravo yadarthaṃ vṛṣṇyandhakā mekhaladaṇḍakāś ca* may be considered as based upon a long tradition. Cf. also ibid. 8, 70. Compare also cases like MU. 6, 11 *amantāsrotāsprasṭādrasṭā.....bhavati, prāṇāṃś cotsrjati*. This tendency is especially evident in those numerous passages, reference to which has already been made, of the types Kāl. R. 4, 19 *haṃsaśrenīṣu tārāsu kumudvatsu ca vāriṣu* (cf. e.g. also 6, 79); 2, 47; 4, 33; Kauṣ. BU. 1, 4 three items + *sarvāṇi ca dvandvāni* "in short all pairs of opposites" or "all other p. of o.". Mention may also be made of the type AV. 7, 82, 5 where the preverb is repeated: *praty..... akhyat praty...../ prati.....ca.....*

Other positions of the particle are however likewise frequent: the second and the third member of a sequence of (words or) word groups may contain *ca*, e.g. Kāl. R. 2, 71; 7, 28; 9, 43; 49. Elsewhere *ca*, occurring once in an otherwise asyndetic sequence, occupies the second place after a caesura: e.g. Kāl. R. 9, 7. Or the particle may appear at the end of a half-verse which is not at the same time the end of the enumeration: Kāl. R. 2, 5.

In Ancient Indian *ca* is very frequently used in a *ya-* clause.⁵⁹ Often this clause runs parallel to a single term: type RV. 5, 33, 5 *vayam.....ye ca narāḥ* "we.....and the men"; 7, 16, 6; AV. 6, 104, 1 *apānā ye caiṣāṃ prāṇāḥ* "the inhalations and expirations of them"; 10, 2, 26; 10, 30; 11, 9, 4; JUB. 3, 11, 6 *antarikṣaṃ jayati yad u cāntarikṣe*; BĀU. 4, 3, 33; KU. 1, 2, 4 *avidyā yā ca vidyati jñātā*. Together with *anya-*; Mbh. 3, 71, 11 *śākhe dve yāś cāpy anyāḥ praśākhikāḥ*. Cf. also Mbh. 4, 14, 8 *mām yac ca mamāsti kiṃcana*. We also find constructions like the following: RV. 5, 64, 6 *yuvaṃ no yeṣu.....kṣatraṃ.....ca bibhṛthaḥ* "us and those among whom you....." The double *ca* is found in cases such as: AV. 7, 89, 3 *avadyaṃ*

59. See my paper in *Lingua*, Intern. Review of General Linguistics, 4, Amsterdam 1954, p. 1 ff.

ca malaṃ ca yat; AV. 6, 107, 1 *dvīpāc ca sarvaṃ no rakṣa catuṣpād yac ca naḥ svam*; AiB. 7, 18, 7 (verse); Manu 9, 114. A *ca* group may follow a dvandva compound: MU. 6, 9 *ucchiṣṭocchiṣṭopahataṃ yac ca pāpena dattam*. An interesting instance of.....*ca ya-* *ca* occurs (Pāli) Dhṛ. 1, 6 *pare ca na vijānanti...../ ye ca tattha vijānanti* "some do not know....., but those who know this.....".

Sometimes a single *ya-* *ca* is used to open a large unity or sentence, connecting it intimately with the preceding unit, and completing the episode which is narrated. Compare, inter alia, in Pāli Mil. 115 *katādhikārānaṃ diṭṭhadhammasukhavedanīyaṃ kammaṃ, kitti ca yesaṃ abbhuggatā devamanussesūti*; cf. the French construction ".....et qui.....". Cf. also Mbh. 3, 68, 45; Sub. Vās. 102 "it displayed.....; it had.....; it was.....; it seemed.....; and it was such as to....." (*yaś ca.....*); 117; 119; 193. Āryaśūra, Jātakam. 17, 29. Similar observations could be made with regard to *yathā ca* etc. A double *ya-* *ca* is not rare: RV. 7, 22, 9 *ye ca pūrva ṛṣayo ye ca nūtnāḥ*; AV. 11, 10, 22 *yaś ca kavacī yaś cākavacaḥ* "whoever is mailed, and who is without mail"; 23, 24; 2, 7, 2; AiB. 2, 20, 7. Such parallel groups⁶⁰ as for instance ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 1 *sarvān paśūn.....ye ca grāmyā ye cāraṇyāḥ* (notice the preceding *sarva-*) are not rare. When the two *yā-* clauses refer to different entities the common antecedent can precede: AiB. 1, 30, 11 *īśvarau ha vā etau.....himsitor yaś cāsau pūrvaḥ.....yam u cainam aparām.....*; the correlative pronoun can also follow: AiB. 2, 6, 2 *ye caiva.....ye ca.....tān eva*; 7, 10. In other cases the *ya-* *ca* clauses refer to the same entity, which may be mentioned in the preceding part of the sentence: JUB. 3, 9, 3 *tāṃ devatām.....yām ca.....yā ca.....*. The correlative element can follow: BĀU. 2, 5, 1. Attention may be drawn to: RV. 7, 55, 6 *ya āste yaś ca carati yaś ca paśyati no janāḥ* (— of them we shut the eyes); in the parallel stanza AV. 4, 5, 5 it reads: *yaś ca tiṣṭhan vipaśyati*. Thus a succession of *ya-* *ca* clauses constitutes a larger unit: *ya- ya- ya- ca*: AV. 10, 3, 8; 7, 17; 8, 1; 10, 9, 14; 16 ff.; *ya- ya- ca ya-*: KU. 1, 2, 15; AV. 7, 89, 3; 8, 7, 18 (4 times *ya-* *ca* followed by *sarva-*); 10, 9, 12; AiB. 8, 5, 4 *ubhayoḥ.....yaś cāntarvedi yaś ca bahirvedi*; JB. 1, 146 *ubhayāml lokān.....ye cordhvā ye cārvāñcaḥ*; BĀU. 5, 5; Sub. Vās. 91 ff. Attention may also be drawn to the construction: *yaś ca.....yaś ca na*, e.g. AiB. 1, 13, 8 *sarvo he vai.....nandati yaś ca yajñe lapsyamāno bhavati yaś ca na* "every one rejoices.....both he who is to gain something in the sacrifice and he who is not"; BĀU. 1, 5, 1. AiB. 7, 13, 3 we find: *ye.....ye ca na*. The construction is not foreign to Pāli either: Jāt. I, 141 it helps to emphasize the idea of reciprocity: *yañ ca aññe na rakkhanti yo ca aññe na rakkhati*.

60. MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar for students*, p. 229 is not right in speaking of "abridged relative sentences".

Very often a clause containing *ya- ca* joins another *ya-* clause: RV. 5, 16, 5 *ye vyaṃ ye ca sūrayaḥ* "we and the institutors of the sacrifice"; 55, 8; 87, 2; 7, 59, 1; 104, 11. AV. 4, 36, 2; 6, 136, 3; 8, 6, 23; 7, 1; 9, 3, 2; 10, 3, 16 *ya enaṃ paśuṣu dipsanti ye cāśya rāṣṭradipsavaḥ*; 4, 9; 10, 8, 10; 11; 9, 7; 12, 1, 12; BĀU. 6, 2, 15. Other instances are: AV. 6, 124, 2 *yatrāsprkṣan tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* "on whatever (part) of (my) body, and what (part) of (my) garment it has touched"; AiB. 1, 22, 15. *ya evaṃ veda yaś caivaṃ vidvān. yajate*; 2, 3, 4 *ya evaṃ veda yasya caivaṃ viduṣo yūpas tiṣṭhati*, the *ya*'s referring to the same man; similarly 2, 19, 4; 24, 13.⁶¹ MU. 6, 1 *dvidhā vā eṣa ātmānam bibharti ayaṃ yaḥ prāṇo yaś cāsā ādityaḥ*: the "in two ways" is explained by a double *ya-* group, linked together by *ca*. Cf. also BĀU. 2, 3, 4 *yad anyat prāṇāc ca yaś cāyam. ākāśaḥ* where *yaś ca* etc. are on a par with the abl. *prāṇāt*. The *ya-* clauses may refer to the same "antecedent" which has been expressed in the preceding part of the utterance: AV. 7, 20, 6 *sarvam idam. yat tiṣṭhati carati yad u ca viśvam ejati*; 9, 5, 14 and 9, 6 *lokān. ye divyā ye ca pārthivāḥ*. The word (or words) to which the *ya-* clauses refer is (are) placed after them: AV. 8, 7, 24; BĀU. 5, 5, 3; ŚU. 6, 18. The two *ya-* clauses are followed by *ubhau*: AV. 9, 3, 9. The combination *ya- ca* may also serve to connect larger units.

Of special interest are those passages in which a *ya- ca* clause does not regularly correspond to a parallel word or clause: ŚU. 6, 4 *ārabhya karmāni guṇānvitāni bhāvāms ca sarvān viniyojayed yaḥ* "if a man⁶² having begun with works associated with the (three) guṇas distributes all existences.". Here the clause containing the absolutive which, theoretically, is equivalent to a subordinate clause and the rest of the *ya-* clause are connected by means of *ca* which can only be understood as a means of expressing complementary connection, not as a pure "and". It seems possible to attribute to *ca* this function of emphasizing a contrast in Kāl. R. 16, 19 *āvarjya śākhāḥ sadayaṃ ca yāsāṃ puṣpāṇy upāttāni vilāsinībhiḥ/vanyaiḥ. vānarais tāḥ kliśyanta udyānalatāḥ.*, although other explications may also be considered. A *ya- ca* group can also introduce a sentence which is closely connected with the preceding unit. Budh. Bk. 18, 10 "he foretold that they would have a son" *yaś ca putras tayo jātas tasya nāmākarot pitā*.

We often find single words and *ya- ca* groups co-ordinated in such a way as to fit in with the scheme of the increasing members of an utterance (Behaghel's tendency): AV. 11, 5, 21 *pārthivā divyāḥ paśava āraṇyā grāmyāś ca ye*; 6, 12; 7, 12; 10, 2; 12, 2, 36 *yat kṛṣate yad vanute yac ca*

61. Avestan parallels may be found in BARTHOLOMAE'S Dictionary, 566.
62. For this use of *ya-* see *Lingua* 4, p. 33 ff.

vasnena vindate; RV. 7, 50, 4 *yāḥ pravato nivata udvata udanvatīr anudakāś ca yāḥ* "the sloping paths, the deep places, the elevations, (those) abounding in water and those without water"; KU. 1, 3, 1. The *ya- ca* group is sometimes found at the end of an enumeration: BAU. 4, 9 *chandāṃsi yajñāḥ..... bhūtam bhavyaṃ yac ca vedā vadanti*. However, the author is always free to insert *cā* at another place in a series of *ya-* clauses: see e.g. Mbh. 3, 57, 9. Often the ancient poets managed to attain the requirements of metre and euphony without clashing with the natural tendencies of their mother tongue: AV. 12, 1, 31 *yās te prācīḥ pradīśo ya udicīr yās te bhūme adharād yās ca paścāt*; 12, 3, 5.

The same "corresponsive" and complementary character of the particle sometimes appears in clauses introduced by *yadi* and other derivatives of *ya-*. AiB. 2, 2, 5 *yadi ca tiṣṭhāsi yadi ca śayāsai.....* "if ye will stand or if ye will lie.....": a pair of alternatives. Here "and" would be an impossible translation. JB. 1, 89 *yadi ca ha pradhāvayati yadi ca na* "whether.....or not". Cf. also the type: KU. 2, 2, 6 *idam pravakṣyāmi..... yathā ca* "I shall explain this.....and also how....." which corresponds to the Avestan usage.⁶³

After verbs expressing the ideas of "not believing, not considering possible, not bearing patiently, reproaching, blaming" and the phrase *āścaryam etat* "that is astonishing" the conjunction *yad* "that" may according to a rule formulated by Pāṇini 3, 3, 148 ff. be followed by the particle *ca*: *na śraddadhe yac ca tatrābhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājāyet* "I do not believe that you perform the rites for a contemptible man". The verb of the clause introduced by *yac ca* is in the optative, which in the opinion of the present author expresses contingency. Although the explication of this construction must, for lack of sufficient evidence in the literature, remain somewhat uncertain, it may probably be supposed to have originated in an ellipsis or aposiopesis: "I don't believe that (but the reverse, I suppose, is true)". The verb form allows the hearer to assume the alternative, because the speaker, in using the optative, takes the possibility of non-occurrence into account.⁶⁴

We now come to discuss the interesting use of AInd. *ca* in the sense of *ced* "if": Pāṇini 8, 1, 30. Although it was already understood by DELBRÜCK⁶⁵ that this "conditional particle"⁶⁶ is the identical *ca* — "die Inder drücken die innere Verbundenheit der Sätze dadurch aus, dasz sie das Verbum

63. For instance see BARTHOLOMAE's Dictionary, 566.

64. See the author's book *The Character of the Indo-European Moods*, chapter on the optative (Wiesbaden 1956).

65. DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 329 f.

66. SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 374.

des priorischen Satzes betonen, wir dadurch, dass wir *ca* durch "wenn" übersetzen"—, it may be worth while to reaffirm this view and to state it more precisely.⁶⁷ Originally the conditional force must have been implied in the juxtaposition of the sentences: in particular cases, especially when the verb precedes the subject, this construction which is by no means foreign to other languages, remained in existence: Mbh. 3, 72, 17 *athavā tvarate bhavān, eṣa yāti śivaḥ panthāḥ*.⁶⁸ This construction is far from rare in various languages, and often heard in familiar conversation, cf. e.g. in Latin Plaut. Epid. 683 *vincire vis: em, ostendo manus*, litt. "You want to tie me up? Here, here are my hands". In my opinion the particle *ca* in the beginning only served to indicate or to emphasize the complementary or incomplete character of the clause in which it occurred.⁶⁹ As an instance of this RV. 8, 100, 2 may be quoted: *asaś ca tvaṃ.....sakhā me..... jaṅghanāva* "will you be my friend.....(then) we shall kill.....", i.e. "if you will be.....".

In the instances of this construction there are usually two parties concerned in the occurrences at issue, or two occurrences are described as taking place in relation. The contexts of one of the two clauses connected depend upon a condition expressed in the other. Both clauses complement each other. If a translation of the particle *ca* in its "original function" would be needed, it might be something like "on his (her, your etc.) side, on the one hand, on the one part" etc. The accented verb likewise marks the incomplete character of the clause:⁷⁰ "*cet....* preserves the accent of the verb with which it is connected".⁷¹ Cf. RV. 1, 40, 6 *imām ca vācam pratiharyathā naro viśved vāmā vo aśnavat* "if, O men, you willingly accept this word, it will acquire for you everything agreeable"; 2, 41, 11 *indraś ca mṛlayāti no na naḥ pāścād aghaṃ naśat* "if Indra is willing to be gracious towards us, (then) no mishap will reach from behind"; 1, 74, 6; 10, 108, 3. Cf. also 1, 91, 6;⁷² AV. 1, 17, 2; 8, 10, 31; 11, 3, 28; 29 and 32; 55 and 56 (*na ca....* "if....not...."). In a clause opened by the incorrectly so-called "pregnant" *ya*-⁷³ in which a conditional value is inherent: Manu 9, 170 *utpadyate gr̥he yasya na ca jñāyate kasya saḥ*. That *cā* originally was no

67. RENOUE, *Grammaire de la langue védique*, p. 384, does not dwell on particulars.

68. I refer to *Remarques sur la place du verbe dans la phrase active et moyenne en langue sanscrite*, Utrecht 1952, p. 67.

69. See also *Lingua* 4, p. 33 ff.

70. For the accent see: A. MEILLET, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 34 (1933), p. 122 ff.

71. WHITNEY, *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, 5, p. 395.

72. Cf. also RV. 5, 28, 2 (where GELDNER translates by "und").

73. See *Lingua* 4, p. 33 ff. The Petr. Dict., VI, 3 f. is not correct either in regarding this *ca* as an "anacoluthon".

conditional conjunction also appears from the fact that the relation implied is not always conditional: ṚV. 1, 74, 6 we must use our conjunction "when": *ā ca vahāsi tāñ iha devāñ*.... "when thou conductest the gods hither...."; 3, 43, 4; 5, 82, 9; 6, 37, 4. "When, as (Germ. als)": ṚV. 7, 33, 6 *abhavac ca*.... *ād it*....; 10, 101, 3 (accent) *girā ca śruṣṭīḥ śābharā āsat* (explained in ŚB. 7, 2, 2, 5). GGS. 3, 2, 20 *varṣati ca nopasarpec channam* "(even) when it rains he should not go towards a covered place". An epic instance is Mbh. 3, 272, 10 *jīvitum cecchase mūḍha hetum me gadataḥ śṛṇu*. For a concessive implication see Aśv. Bc. 7, 23.

It should be noticed that *ca* when equivalent to *ced* is as a rule put in its ordinary place (for an exception: ṚV. 5, 10, 7). This is the reason why *ced* "if, when"⁷⁴ is as a rule also found immediately after the opening of a sentence, never commencing an utterance:⁷⁵ ṚV. 7, 72, 4 *vi ced uchanty uṣāsaḥ*; ŚB. 2, 1, 2, 14 *imaṃ ced vā ime cinvate*; Manu 7, 25.... *netā cet sādhu paśyati*; Kathās. 25, 19 *bhagavān vaktu veti cet*; Mbh. 9, 31, 64 *tanmātram api cen* (which here practically means "whereas") *mahyaṃ na dadāti*...., *sa katham*.... (a variant is: *api tan*, without a conjunction). The *na cet* (cf. also *no ced*) is even to be considered a unity. As is well-known *ced* < *ca* and the affirmative or re-inforcing *id* has in ancient texts sometimes retained the original non-conditional force: AV. 2, 30, 2 *saṃ cen nayāthaḥ*.... *saṃ ca vakṣathaḥ*. The latter half of the sentence can, on the other hand, also contain the condition: AV. 12, 4, 13 *hiṃste adattā puruṣaṃ yācitāṃ ca na dītsati* "she, ungiven, harms a man, if he is not willing to give her when asked for"; ṚV. 5, 10, 7; 82, 9.

It may be of interest to recall passages such as Mbh. 12, 199, 26 f. where a sentence beginning with *atha* in which a condition is implied is followed by a sentence introduced by *athavā ca* "or if".

There are other arguments in favour of the thesis that the particle under consideration, whilst conveying the idea of complementary connection, could occur also in clauses implying some special relation to the foregoing or following part of the utterance. Thus *ca* is the apparent bearer of a causal force implied in the context in ṚV. 10, 108, 9 *evā ca tvāṃ sarama ājagantha*.... *svasāraṃ tvā kṛṇavai* "since you have come.... I will...." (: *cet* Sāyaṇa). Indian grammarians in speaking of a "causal *ca*" (*hetu*) have recognized this nuance.

74. As is well known *ced* is < *ca*+*id* (*it*). In the Avesta it is also after *ca* emphasizing.

75. For particulars see also SPEYER, V. S. S., p. 89, § 282; S. S., p. 372 f.

The "conditional function" of *ca* was retained in Pāli. Jāt. V, 216 *sakko ca me varaṃ dajjā, so ca labbetha me varo* no doubt means "if Sakka will give me a wish, my choice would be quickly taken" rather than "whatever wish S. will allow, that one will be...".⁷⁶ Thus Saṃyutta I, 190 *ahaṃ ca kho...pavāremi, na ca me bhagavā kiñci garahati* "I on my part...if the Bh. will not blame me". With the single *ca* in the "subordinate" clause: Majjh. I, p. 91 *so ca hi te...dhammo...pahīno abhavissa, na tvam...*; Jāt. II, 110 *ciraṃ pi kho taṃ khādeyya...yavaṃ...ravamāno ca dūsaya* "he might have eaten it a long time, if he had not come to harm by his cry". It may be noticed that *ca* sometimes combines with *sace* "if" (< *sa ced*); Suttanip. 1003 *sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati...sace ca pabbajati agārā*.

In this connection attention must be drawn to the use of *ca* in an "apodosis" of a conditional sentence. Although in RV. 1, 26, 8 *svagnayo hi vāryaṃ devāso dadhiré ca naḥ* the particle at first sight seems superfluous, it is, to my mind, the counterpart of *ca = ced*, that is to say, it likewise indicates the mutually complementary character of *svagnayo hi* and the other part of the sentence, the only difference lying in its position; it is put in the second clause: "For when (if) the gods are well-provided with sacrificial fires, they, on their part, supply us with precious goods". It is therefore not surprising to find that the particle is incidentally put twice, in the conditional "protasis" as well as the apodosis: AV. 11, 3, 32-49 (prose): *tataś cainam anyena śirṣṇā prāśir yena caitaṃ pūrva ṛṣayaḥ prāśnan jyeṣṭhatas te prajā mariṣyatīti* "if thou hast eaten it with another head than that with which the ancient seers ate this, thy progeny, from the oldest down, will die", etc.

As is well-known identity is, especially in archaic and technical writings, often expressed by means of the construction Mbh. 1, 3, 167 *yo 'śvaḥ so 'gniḥ* "the horse is Agni" or "as to the horse, it is Agni" (rather than the usual interpretation "what is the horse that is Agni").⁷⁷ Here the *ya*-clause serves to isolate and distinguish the subject from the other elements of the utterance, to draw attention to it, or also to point it out as something known. Sometimes however *ca* is added: *ye ca mānuṣaḥotrādhikārās te ca*.⁷⁸ Compare also MU. 6, 31 *in fine* (stanza) where however the clause containing *tathaiva* is also logically subordinated to the following sentence. Here the function of the double *ca* cannot be different from what it is in other contexts: it emphasizes the complementary connection between both parts of the utterance.

76. Cf. REYS DAVIDS - STEDE, *Pāli Dict.*, s.v. *ca*.

77. See the observations made in *Lingua* 4, p. 9 ff.

78. See J. BLOCH, La phrase nominale en sanskrit, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 14 (1906), p. 51; P. HARTMANN, *Nominale Ausdrucksformen in wissenschaftlichen Sanskrit*, Heidelberg 1955, p. 66.

As this point is of special interest we may dwell here upon the same use of *ca* in later documents in which it occasionally serves to establish, so to say, the equilibrium, indicating the complementary character of the clauses. It may occur in both clauses: Mbh. 1, 180, 15 Su. *yaś cāyaṃ manyuḥ me 'gnir lokān ādātum icchati/dahed eṣa ca mām eva nigṛhītaḥ svatejasā*. In a sentence of the type Kāl. R. 12, 45 *te tu yāvanta evāḥau tāvāṃś ca dadṛśe sa taiḥ* the particle has almost obtained the character of *eva*. In a *tathā* clause following *yathā*: Mbh. 3, 297, 28; 14, 19, 22; in a *tatra* clause following *yatra* (*ca* ± “also”): Mbh. 3, 297, 21 *yatra me nīyate bhartā svayaṃ vā yatra gacchati mayā ca tatra gantavyam?* After a *yadi* clause: Aśv. Bc. 8, 41 *na cābhaviṣyat...* One might be tempted to interpret in the same manner RV. 1, 77, 2 *agnir yad ver martāya devān sa cā bodhāti manasā yajāti*, where Sāyaṇa explains: *saḥ...bodhāti ca jñāti ca. jñātvā ca...yajāti*; or does *ca* connect *b.* and *y.*?⁷⁹ An interesting case is also Kāl. R. 12, 45 *te tu yāvanta evāḥau tāvāṃś ca dadṛśe sa taiḥ* “they saw him in the battle as manifold as they themselves were”. There seems to be no reason whatever to regard this *ca* as a “logically” superfluous element serving to fill out the verse. Cf. also Pañc. Hertel 1, 179 *yathā gaur duhyate kāle pālyate ca tathā prajāḥ*. Instances of this use which often is incorrectly called “expletive” are not rare in the Mahābhārata: In a passage like Mbh. 1, 3, 168 N. (prose) *yaś cainam adhirūḍhaḥ puruṣaḥ sa cendraḥ* “(and) the man who rode it is Indra” *ca* likewise emphasizes a correspondence between the contents of the latter and the former clause of the sentence; in the crit. ed. this sentence reads as follows: *yaś cainam adhirūḍhaḥ sa indraḥ*. An interesting example is Aś. G. 12 *yo hi koci ātpapāsaṃdaṃ pūjayati parapāsaṃdaṃ va garahati...so ca puna tatha karoto ātpapāsaṃdaṃ...upahanāti*. To quote an instance from a later author: Budh. Bk. 18, 455 *chāgapṛṣṭhāni cāruhya.../ atigāhata cādhvānam*; here the absolute is “equivalent to a subordinate clause”. Sporadically the particle even occurs in the second part of a sentence the first element of which is an adjective or adjective group: Pāli Dhp. 20, 9 *vācā-nurakkhi...kāyena ca akusalaṃ na kayirā* “guarding (on the one hand) his speech....., let a man (on the other hand) not commit anything wrong with his body”; this interpretation might be preferred to the possibility of taking *ca* as merely “connective”. Instances in which *ca* has been translated by “also” like Mbh. 3, 64, 19 loc. abs. *damayantī ca bubudhe* belong also under this head. This “also” may be explained as an “on her part”. In a main clause following a *ya-* clause *ca* can also serve to denote immediate succession; thus in an example quoted in the Petr. Dict. II, 905, 7 (= Kathās. 18, 259) *yas tariṣyati paścāc ca* (“unmittelbar darauf”) so *'syā bhartā bhaviṣyati*.

79. For *ca* in an unusual position see further on.

A similar function must be attributed to *ca* after *iti* in Kāl. Śak. 6, 28 (stage-direction after a stanza) *iti ca śāstram saṃdhatte* (v. l. *ity astram...*). One might be inclined to compare also: Jayar. Har. 27, 117 *pratipadyeti sā vāṇī vyaramac ca nabhastalāt* must mean "with this promise, she, Speech, ceased, (and disappeared) from the sky" (Brough); it is however possible to regard *ca* as connecting the verbs *jagade* (111) and *vyaramat*. In verse 106 the same interpretation might be probable, although the preceding main verb occurred in verse 83. Passages in which *ca* is contrary to the natural order of words placed further on are on the other hand not infrequent in this author: 146; 274.

The particle also appears in subordinate clauses without being required for purely connective purposes: Mbh. 3, 67, 2 *saṃdideśa ca* (Anschluss) *tān bhīmo vasu dattvā ca puṣkalam*; is the second *ca* "expletive", or may we regard it as a means of equilibrating the two parts of the utterance (\pm "on the other hand, also")? Cf. also 3, 71, 21 *saṃkhyāya ca vibhītakam/tato..... yāsyāmi*.

We are fortified in our conviction that the above interpretation of the particle is right by the striking parallels found in Gothic; it must, in view of the value of *ca* in general, be more than a coincidence that in this language *-uh*, which etymologically corresponds to *ca*, may also serve in a (main) sentence the verb of which is preceded by a participle: Marc 8, 1 *athaitands siponjans gath-uh du im* "demanding the presence of his disciples he said to them". The same *-uh* occurs in a main sentence which stands in a certain correlation to other sentences: Mc. 10, 38; 39. In *thar-uh* "(just) there" it likewise occurs in a "Nachsatz": 2 Cor. 3, 17 *tharei* (rel.) *ahma fraujsins, tharuh freihals ist* "where is the spirit of God, there is freedom". Cf. also Goth. *swah*, i.e. **swa-uh* in the same position: John 15, 4.

Sometimes, however, it is difficult to decide what function must be attributed to the particle: Mbh. 3, 294, 24 *anyaṃ varaya śobhane/tasya doṣo mahān eko guṇān ākramya ca sthitaḥ*: CALAND⁸⁰ asks himself: expletive or "because"?; I for one would prefer to consider *guṇān ā.* and *mahān* to be connected by *ca*. In other cases—e.g. JB. 1, 153 (where *eva* is a variant)—*ca* though occurring in a main clause which follows a subordinate clause serves to connect two sentences.

That *ca* is not additive in character appears also from the interesting idiom represented for instance by AiB. 3, 29, 6 *ūrdhvāḥ puruṣasya bhūyāṃsaḥ prāṇā yac cāvāṇcaḥ* "the upward breaths of a man are more numerous than the lower", and by ŚB. 3, 5, 3, 21 *iti methīm upanihantītaratas tato yad u ca*

80. W. CALAND, *Sāvitṛi en Nāla*, Utrecht 1916, p. 5.

mānuṣe. The explication of this "periphrastic expression of a comparative" which had no future in Sanskrit proper, but on the other hand reminds us of certain constructions which were in use in the vernaculars,⁸¹ was according to DELBRÜCK⁸² uncertain, as far as Sanskrit is concerned. Whether SPEYER in suggesting the construction with *tataḥ* ("den vollen Ausdruck") to be the original one is right or not, in both cases *ca* answers to an "on the other hand" in formulating an alternative. If the shorter construction is not a breviloquence it may perhaps have originated in an ellipsis: "the upw. br. are num., as to the lower, on the other hand..... (they are not)".⁸³

In Pāli the same construction recurs as *yañ ca* and *yañ ce*—the latter corresponding to a Skt. *yac cet*—" (rather) than that"; cf. e.g. Suttanipāṭa 440 *sangāme me mataṃ seyyo yañ ce jīve parājito* "I would rather die in battle than live vanquished"; similarly, Jāt. I, p. 152; Dhammap. 308. Incidentally the first element of this phrase is declinable, agreeing in case, gender, and number with the following substantive: Dhammapada 104 *attā have jitaṃ seyyo yā c'āyaṃ itarā pajā* "conquest of self is indeed better than the conquest of other persons"; 102. It is doubtful whether the last variant of the construction represents a case of attraction:⁸⁴ the declinable *ya-* and the invariable *yat* run parallel also in other constructions.⁸⁵ The phrase occurs also in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.⁸⁶ Another use of the same combination was among others made by the medical author Caraka⁸⁷ (who has *yac ca* in the sense of the German "wenn nämlich, und zwar") and Buddhist writers: Lalitavistara⁸⁸ p. 186, 5 L. *abhinīṣkramiṣyati avaśyaṃ kumāro 'yaṃ* (or: *yac*) *cemāni pūrvanimittāni saṃdṛśyante sma* "the prince is certainly going to leave wordly life, as namely prognostications are observed". The last clause constitutes an explicative complement to the preceding sentence.⁸⁹

Some words remain to be said on the function of *ca* in the well-known idiom *ya- ka- ca* "whosoever". Referring to a special paper devoted to the relations between the indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns in the

81. Cf. also J. BLOCH, *Les inscriptions d'Asoka*, Paris 1950, p. 116; R. FISCHER, *Gotting. Gelehrte Anz.* 1884, p. 502 f. It may be remembered that "the comparative idea" is often expressed by parallelisms and ellipses: see e.g. *Lingua* 3, p. 22.

82. DELBRÜCK, *Altind. Syntax*, p. 196. See also SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 37, § 122.

83. For *yat* "as to" see *Lingua* 4, p. 15 ff.

84. As is suggested by D. ANDERSEN, *A Pāli Reader*, II, Copenhagen 1907, p. 212.

85. Cf. *Lingua* 4, p. 15 ff.

86. F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven 1953, p. 442.

87. See the minor Petr. Dict. V, 126.

88. For the text see EDGERTON, l. c.

89. For Gr. *hote* which may be supposed to be (as far as its outward form is concerned) identical—cf., also Iliad 16, 433—see *Mnemosyne* IV, 7, p. 278 f.

ancient I.E. languages⁹⁰ the present author has grave doubts about the correctness of what seems to be the communis opinio,⁹¹ that it is *ca* which in the above expression converts the interrogative pronoun to an indefinite. Nor can he adhere to the view that *ya- ka- ca* owes its origin to a combination of the so-called relative pronoun *ya*-⁹² and the indefinite *ka- ca*. However much the three components of this expression formed, in historical times, unity—cf. also the Avestan counterpart *yō čišča-* and however “indefinite” its sense may be, the original function of the particle *ca* seems to be more or less apparent in many passages.⁹³ Starting from the hypothesis that **k^ue* essentially served to express complementary connection such texts as AiB. 7, 17, 7 *madhuchandāḥ śṛṇotana ṛṣabhaḥ.... / ye ke ca bhrātaraḥ sthana....* “do you, M., and do you, R., etc. listen, and all who are brothers (whosoever, of those mentioned by name)....” may be regarded as reflecting a more original state of affairs, according to which *ya-*, distinguishing or isolating the words with which it formed a clause, included this clause in a larger whole, *ka-* bore the indefinite force proper, and *ca* had its usual function. AV. 7, 70, 1 *yat kiṃ cāsau manasā yac ca vācā juhōti.... / tad....* “whatsoever (on the one hand) he yonder offers with mind, and what (on the other hand) with voice...., that....” may be regarded as representing a *ya- ca*....*ya- ca* construction as occurs, for instance, in AV. 11, 10, 22 in which the repeated *ca* likewise emphasizes the idea of complementary connection: *yaś ca kavacī yaś cākavacaḥ* “who(ever) is mailed and whoever is without mail”. If the phrase is repeated the introductory *ya-* is said once: JUB. 1, 31, 11 *yad dha kiṃ ca kiṃ ca.... kurute* “whatever....one does”: cf. *tac ca tac ca*, and 1, 50, 8 *kiṃ ca kiṃ ca* “of this sort and of that”; i.e. “of various kinds, of all kinds”;⁹⁴ where....*ca....ca* obviously is the usual repetition of the particle. Ibid. 1, 40, 3 *yat kiṃ cārvācīnam* “whatsoever is this side” is followed by: *yad anyatra*; cf. also 3, 28, 3. If this explication be correct the phrase must, in the course of time, have come to form unity, occurring also when its last component did not specially refer to a “complement”. However, in a passage such as AiB. 7, 34, 3 *sarvo haiva so 'mrta.... yaḥ kaś ca savanabhāk* “every one is immortal.... who is a sharer in the pressings” the opposite thought “who has no share in the pressings is not immortal” could easily enter the consciousness of the hearer. Compare for instance also 8,

90. *Lingua* 4, p. 241 ff.

91. See e.g., W. D. WHITNEY, *A Sanskrit grammar*, § 507; RENOUE, *Grammaire sanscrita*, Paris 1930, p. 378.

92. For the character of which see *Lingua* 4, p. 1 ff.

93. Pāli Jāt. I, p. 143 a particle is omitted: *yena ken' upayena*.

94. See WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *Altind. Gr.* III, p. 571; DELBRÜCK, *Vergleichende Syntax* II, p. 511 f. It may be observed that *ya-* alone can also bear an indefinite force: e.g., BAU. 6, 2, 16 *kiṭāḥ, pataṅgāḥ, yad idam dandaśūkam*; AV. 6, 15, 2.

14, 2 in connection with 3. We need not dwell here on the phrases *yataḥ kutaś ca* etc. with regard to which similar observations could be made: AiBr. 7, 2, 5 *api vā yata eva kutaś ca payasā juhuyuh* "or they may offer with milk from whatever source" as an alternative. In complex sentences containing a pair of correlatives the particle may at a prehistoric period have mainly served to indicate the incomplete character of the clause of which it formed part: AiB, 8, 4, 1 *yatra kvacaikāhāḥ...., aikāhikā eva tatra hotrāḥ syuh*. Cf. e.g. also JB. 1, 160; 223.

By way of addition to the preceding pericope some passages with *ya-ka-* which may be considered to show an originally complementary *ca* may find a place here: RV. 10, 19, 7 *ye devāḥ ke ca yajñīyās te rayyā sam sṛjantu naḥ*; 90, 10 *tasmād aśvā ajāyanta ye ke cobhayādataḥ*; can in a sentence of the type 6, 47, 10 *yat kiṃ cāhaṃ tvāyur idaṃ vadāmi taj juṣasva* (two parties) *ca* "originally" have meant "I on my part"?; cf. also 52, 15 *ye ke ca jñā....divo jajñire apāṃ sadhasthe*; 10, 20, 8 etc.; AV. 7, 76, 3 *nirāstaṃ sarvaṃ jāyānyaṃ yaḥ kaś ca kakudī śritaḥ* "...also whatever one is...." (Whitney-Lanman); VS. 8, 60 *yaṃ kaṃ ca lokam agan yajñas tato me bhadram abhūt* (following after "to the sky...., to the atmosphere...., to the earth....the s. has gone"); cf. ŚB. 1, 5, 11 *yatra kva ca...., tato....*; BĀU. 4, 4, 6 *prāpyāntaṃ karmaṇas tasya yat kiṃ ceha karoty ayam*. It is in this connection to be noted that *ya- ya- ca*, which occurs BĀU. 3, 8, 9, appears to have been incorrectly interpreted as a merely generalizing relative pronoun: *prācyo 'nyā nadyaḥ syandante śvetebhyaḥ parvatebhyaḥ, prācyo 'nyāḥ yāṃ yāṃ ca diśam anu*: "some rivers flow to the east...., others to the west in whatever direction each flows" (HUME, RADHAKRISHNAN; SENART who omits these words in translating probably considered them a tautology). The particle *ca* should probably be taken as a reference to the complement of east and west: "and (the others) to whatever quarter (is ordained for them)", or rather: "(and) in whatever direction (rivers may flow)".⁹⁵ Compare RÖER's translation.

It is in view of the above considerations not surprising that the meaning of the particle *ca* has also drawn the attention of the Indian grammarians. Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya 2, 2, 29 enumerates four meanings: *samuccaya-* "cumulation, accumulation, collection, totality"; which has already been dealt with in the preceding pages; *anvācaya-* "connection of a secondary action with a main action": according to some authorities this term is synonymous with *samuccaya-*, while others prefer to use it in the case of *bhikṣām aṭa gāṃ cānaya* which may be taken to mean: "go begging and (in addition, but

95. For the Greek *te* in relative clauses see *Mnemosyne* IV, 7, p. 206 ff.

subordinate, to that) bring the cow back"⁹⁶ (Jinendrabuddhi, Nyāsa 2, 2, 29), and similar constructions; *itaretarayoga*- "mutual connection or relation of the members": in *plakṣaś ca nyagrodhaś ca* this relation implies that the *n.* is the associate of the *p.* and the *p.* the associate of the *n.*; the same relation can be expressed by a copulative or collective *dvandva*, an example of the latter being *dadhipayasī* "dadhi (thick, sour milk) and milk"; *samāhāra*- "sum, totality, collection"⁹⁷—a term also applied to *dvandvas* of the latter type —, for instance: *pāṇī ca pādaū ca*: according to Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa, l. c. *samāhāra* must be defined as follows: "what essentially consists of an accumulation of objects with a reciprocal relation, in which the difference of meaning between both members is concealed".

Leaving undiscussed here some other uses of *ca* mentioned by the grammarians, because they have already attracted our attention on the preceding pages, we may notice, in addition to the above, the function called *avadhāraṇa*- "accurate determination, restriction to a certain instance or instances with exclusion of any other". This *ca* in the sense of *eva* must also be considered a special manifestation of the complementary *ca*, completion implying restriction or limitation. Another function, styled *saṃniyoga*- or "conjoint prescription" is likewise intelligible: in this case the particle serves to join an element of a preceding sūtra to the contents of the next.

The particle may also be used in case of *tulyayogitā* "combination of equal actions or qualities", a "figure" consisting in the association of a plurality of entities with one and the same attribute.⁹⁸ If for instance in the stanza: "Who that has perceived the softness of your body feels not that the jasmine, the digit of the moon, and the plantain are hard", in which the single attribute of hardness is attributed to a plurality of objects, *ca* is used, it fulfils this function. In the function known as *anvādeśa*- *ca* refers to what has been stated previously. Finally, *ca* can according to Hemacandra's *Anekārthasamgraha* be used *viniyoge*, i.e. expressing "correlation".

Among the interesting idioms with regard to enclisis of finite verb forms described by Pāṇini 8, 1 two rules are worth mentioning here. If two coordinated verbs (59) in close succession are, each of them, followed by *ca* the first verb is accented, marking the incomplete character of the clause: *gardabhāṃś ca kālāyati vīṇāṃ ca vādayati* "he drives the asses and plays the lute". The same rule is valid in case of *vā...vā* "either...or". If however, the verbs are accompanied by a preverb, the accentuation of the former combination is as follows: the preverb has the accent, the verb is enclitic (58)

96. "Va faire l'aumône et (accessoirement) ramène la vache", RENOU, *Term. gramm.*, I, p. 45.

97. Cf. RENOU, o.c., II, p. 130.

98. See for instance *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 10, 48.

devadattaḥ prā pacati ca prā khādati ca "Devadatta begins to cook and to eat". We may refer also to the above observations in connection with the so-called conditional *ca*. The rule of 'subordinate' accentuation applies even when the second verb is omitted: ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 23 *agnaye ca . . . haviḥ paridādāti guptyā asyai ca prthivyai*.

We may further claim that the use of *ca* illustrated by such phrases as *kamaṇḍalau ca karakaḥ* (Amarakoṣa 3, 3, 6 etc.) "the word *karaka-* has the meaning "pitcher" and other meanings", "has, inter alia, the m. "p" shows the same complementary force of the particle: from the standpoint of logical expression we might supply *<anyeṣu padārtheṣu ca>* "in other meanings as well (as in that of "pitcher")", the latter being brought to the fore. As MONIER-WILLIAMS⁹⁹ says "*ca* may imply reference to other words which are not expressed".

This use is in fact also found in the technical language of grammar. Pāṇini 3, 2, 88 *matibuddhipūjārthebhyaś ca* means "(the *ta-* of the passive perfect participle in the sense of a present tense occurs also) after roots having the sense of desire, knowledge, and honour, including others": *ca* denotes that the rule also applies to *rakṣita-* "protected", *tuṣṭa-* "satisfied" etc.).¹⁰⁰

The technical term introduced by the experts for this employment of *ca* is *anukṭasamuccaya-* "the accumulation or addition of what is (not) explicitly said (in a sūkta)". The grammarians posterior to the Mahābhāṣya readily availed themselves of this device in order to extract more information from a sūtra than it strictly speaking contains. Thus the Kāśikā argues that *ca* in Pāṇini 3, 2, 30 *nāḍīmuṣṭyoś ca* indicates that the rule is also applicable to *ghaṭī-*, *khārī-*, and *vāta-*.¹⁰¹

A complementary-inclusive force is also attributed to the particle in cases like the following: PB. 1, 1, 8 f. "the head of Viṣṇu art thou, bestowing glory, bestow glory upon me, for food, for pith, for long life, for splendour": *iṣa ūrja āyuse varcase ca*. Sāyaṇa, whilst explaining the four nouns in the nominative, adds: *cakārāt putrapautrādayaḥ* "and on account of the word *ca*, sons, grandsons, etc. (offspring)". This means of expressing the sense of our "etcetera" was also employed by the authors of other texts, e.g. by those who commented upon the kalpasūtras.¹⁰²

99. M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A Skt.-Engl. Dict.*, 380.

100. Cf. also L. RENOU, *La grammaire de Pāṇini*, I, Paris 1948, p. 141: "par l'effet de l'énoncé *ca*, on formera de même *rakṣitaḥ . . . etc.*"

101. See also F. KIELHORN, *Indian Antiquary*, 16, p. 251; RENOU, *La Durghaṭavṛtti de Śaraṇadeva*, I, Paris 1940, p. 99 f.

102. For the rather extensive literature on this subject and a controversy with regard to the authenticity of the device see RENOU, *Durghaṭavṛtti*, I, p. 100, n. 1.

A clear instance of this elliptical use is *Ṣaḍv. Br. 2, 1, 31 ihaiva ca manasā gacchati yaḥ....*, where the commentary attributed to Sāyaṇa explains: *ihaiva cakārāt paratrāpi: ca* signifies that *paratrāpi* is implied.

This use attracted the attention of the Indian authorities: the force of *samuccaya*- "(ac)cumulation" to be attributed to *ca* appears for instance in the phrase *plakṣaś ca* implying *nyagrodhaś ca* (the other fig-tree) which was expected by the hearer (*Mahābh. 2, 2, 29*). In a sentence *ca* in the sense of *samuccaya*- indicates that the contents of the sentence can be cumulatively completed by the contents of the preceding utterance.

A remarkable elliptical use of *ca* must also according to Sāyaṇa be assumed in *RV. 1, 174, 1 tvaṃ rājendra ye ca devāḥ: he indra tvaṃ rājā adhipatiḥ sarvasya jagataḥ kiṃ ca ye devāḥ marudādāyaḥ santi teṣāṃ api viśeṣeṇa*. That is to say: "Thou art the king (of the entire world) and (especially) of the gods". There can in view of the meaning of the particle be no doubt whatever about the possibility of this interpretation. GELDNER in translating "Du, Indra, bist der König über alle Götter" takes *ye* to stand for *teṣāṃ ye*, disregarding *ca*.

Another use of *ca* is likewise closely derived from the original sense postulated above. According to the commentaries *ca*- in Pāṇini 2, 1, 17 *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca* "the words of the group *'tiṣṭhadgu-*" (form) also (a certain class of compounds)", is equivalent to *eva* "just so, exactly so". Instances of this *ca* are according to the Petr. Dict. also *Kāl. R. 12, 45 te tu yāvanta evājau tāvāṃś ca dadṛśe ca taiḥ*.

Now, the particle *ca* in the function called *anukarṣaṇa*- "the inclusion of an element of a preceding sūtra of a technical work, or of this sūtra in its entirety, in a following sūtra". In Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* it is always *ca* that fulfills the function of indicating the *anukarṣaṇa*:¹⁰³ *cakaro 'nukar-ṣaṇārthaḥ* "*ca* serving to 'attract'". In later times authors also resorted to other means of indicating this "attraction". It is interesting to observe that according to the same *Mahābhāṣya*, 1, 3, 93 one should use *ca* either everywhere or nowhere in the case specified: strictly speaking, *ca* is no necessity.¹⁰⁴ Another statement, made by Bhojadeva, *Sarasvatikanṭhābharana*, 1, 2, 67, is also worth mentioning: "what is, by means of *ca*, included in a following sūtra, is not to be included in the next one (in which *ca* is absent)": cf. e.g. Pāṇini 3, 1, 106 and 107 in connection with 97.

103. See also RENO, *Term. gramm.*, I, p. 26.

104. Cf. also RENO, *La Durghaṭavṛtti de Śaraṇadeva*, I, p. 99; *Term. gramm.*, I, p. 144.

The particle *ca* can under certain circumstances be also equivalent to our "even": SPEYER¹⁰⁵ quoting Rām. 1, 1, 4 *kasya bibhyati devās ca* "of whom are even the gods afraid?" (*devās ca*: *devā api*, Rāma's commentary observes that "sometimes *ca* must be translated by a more energetic particle than "and".") We may not, however, conclude that this phrase represents an "energetic" use of the particle. It would appear to be the same "elliptical" phrase, although it may be conceded that the complementary "(all) human beings, (all) other beings" need not have entered the speaker's consciousness. Some other examples are: Mbh. 3, 69, 9; Hit. ad 17, 3 (S. L.) and RV. 7, 86, 6 *svapnaś caned anṛtasya prayotā* "selbst der Schlaf ist kein Ablenker des Unrechts". There are parallels in Greek, where the particle may likewise be used if it is desired to convey the complement of an unexpressed thought or, rather, the opposition between this thought and its counterpart with a heavy stress on the latter.¹⁰⁶

Also in the phrase occurring for instance Mbh. 3, 70, 7 *naivaṃ sākārhitā kuryāt sāpatyā ca viśeṣataḥ* "she will never do this, especially because she has children" *ca* has its characteristic function, the last words constituting a complement.

The explanation of the similar Avestan usage is likewise fairly simple. BARTHOLOMAE already observed that *ca* sometimes serves to emphasize a particular part of a whole which has been mentioned immediately before or, I would suggest, rather simply to emphasize a complementary idea: Y. 28, 9. "Ellipsis" must also be assumed in case of Y. 46, 2 where *ča* is "and" or "and also" and Y. 53, 1 ("also").¹⁰⁷

A most interesting idiom is RV. 7, 88, 3 *ā yad ruhāva varuṇas ca nāvam* "when both of us, (I) and Varuṇa embark": here the verb is in the first person dual, implying the concept of "I" and only one of the pair of beings, the complement of the person speaking, is called by his name. See also RV. 5, 40, 7 *tau mehvataṃ varuṇas ca rājā*, 8, 34, 16. Thus we come across, in AV. 5, 30, 7 *sa ca tvānu hvayāmasi* meaning: "we and it call (after) thee".¹⁰⁸

The particle also appears in phrases of the type AV. 1, 32, 3 *rodasī... bhūmīś ca*, not to be translated, with Whitney-Lanman, by "the (two) firmaments—and the earth—" because *rodasī* by itself means "firmament and earth". An exact counterpart of this phrase occurs in Greek: Homer,

105. SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 331.

106. See *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7, p. 196; cf., e.g., Hes. Op. 218.

107. I refer to BARTHOLOMAE's Dictionary, 574.

108. Some other instances are given by MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar for students*, p. 228 f.

TL. 335 ff. *Aiante... Teukron te* which according to Wackernagel's explication means "Ajas and Teucer", not "both Ajantes and Teucer".¹⁰⁹ In Celtic 2, and Old Norse there are similar parallels,¹¹⁰ e.g. in Old Irish: *icind tricha bliadan condricfem and ocus tū* "after thirty years we shall meet there, (I) and you." Compare also, in the Avesta, Y. 32, 9 *mazdā ašāicā yūismaibyā gərəzē* "(to you), O Mazdā, and to Aši, to both of you, I complain".

A remarkable application of the complementary force conveyed by the particle under discussion is also the phrase *iti ca*: Kauṣ. BU. 2, 15 *athātaḥ pitāputriyaṃ sampradānam iti cācakṣate* means "now next the father and son ceremony (a usual introductory formula, cf. e.g. also 2, 14) or the transmission of tradition as they call it". The ceremony has two names: one of these is preferred by the author in the heading of this Chapter, but the other which seems to enjoy a certain popularity, is also quoted. In the Mahābhāṣya the force of *iti* alone is repeatedly attributed to *ca*. In this function the particle is either limitative or expressive of generalization. Another interesting idiom was already mentioned by SPEYER:¹¹¹ Pañc. 1, 33 *na kevalam asaṃmānaṃ labhate ca viḍambanām* "he is not only subject to dishonour, but also to derision".

In commenting upon the syntactic functions of the particle under discussion many authors considered it, in a large number of cases, an expletive. In so doing they often join Indian authorities who assumed an expletive *ca* (*padapūraṇa*-). It would however appear to me that in correct Sanskrit this use is not so frequent as it is held to be. Not infrequently *ca* may, in my opinion, be regarded as emphasizing, in the above-mentioned way, the close connection, not of two sentences, but of two parts of the same sentence. As stated in another publication¹¹² the syntactic particulars of a main clause following a clause which contains an absolutive, a participle or an adjective, which forms a clause or is the nucleus of a clause, often has features in common with a real main clause which follows a subordinate clause. One of these particulars concerns the position of the finite verb. In clauses of the above description it is not infrequently put before the subject. The same order of words is often found in sentences which are closely connected with the preceding part of the utterance (*Anschlusststellung*). As stated

109. J. WACKERNAGEL, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung* 23 (1877), p. 302 ff.

110. See also W. HAVERS, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg 1931, p. 49 f. and 221; E. SCHWYZER-A. DEBRUNNER, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, München 1950, p. 51; H. ZIMMER, Kuhn's *Zs.*, 32 (1893), p. 153 ff.

111. SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 342.

112. *Remarques sur la place du verbe dans la phrase active et moyenne en langue sanscrite*, Utrecht 1952, p. 67 ff.

above the verb in *Anschlussstellung* is often immediately followed by *ca*. We may therefore expect to find this *ca* also in a main clause when following another part of the sentence. And, although it must be conceded that the particle does occur for metrical reasons or even with no specific function whatever,—see e.g. Mbh. 3, 56, 44; 76, 7; 293, 8; 13, 70, 23 where (one) *ca* is superfluous; 3, 67, 35; 73, 13 where it seems to be used metri causa for the sake of avoiding hiatus; Manu 6, 37—it is, indeed, sometimes used in this way: Mbh. 3, 299, 3 *tataḥ prakṛtayaḥ sarvāḥ śālvebhyo 'bhyāgatā nṛpa/ ācakhyur nihataṃ caiva...taṃ dviṣam* “thereupon all the ministers came from Śālva and informed him that his enemy was killed....”. In a comparable way *ca* seems to express immediate connection in: 3, 70, 21 *evam ukto 'rcayitvā tām.../ gṛhān upayayau cāpi* “being thus addressed and having honoured her...he returned home” and similar cases, cf. e.g. Mbh. 3, 62, 28; 64, 14; 3, 54, 24 *etasmīn kathyamāne tu lokapālās ca sāgnikāḥ/ ājagmuḥ* “while this was related the lokapālas, with Agni among them, arrived”. Compare also ṚV. 6, 50, 11 where *daśasyanto...mṛlatā ca* seems, beside *dātāro bhūta...mṛlatā ca*, a possible construction. Mbh. 12, 145, 9 a similar *ca* occurs after a conditional *ya-* clause: *yo hi kaścid dvijaṃ hanyād.../ śaraṇāgatam ca yo hanyāt, tulyaṃ teṣāṃ ca pātakam*. Here also *ca* helps to maintain the equilibrium of the twofold structure. Similarly, 14, 19, 4.

It is worthy of note that *ca* does not always occupy that position in the sentence where it may be expected.¹¹³ Sometimes it is placed after the initial term although it properly belongs to another word. Cf. AV. 4, 21, 3 *devāṃś ca yābhīr yajate dadāti ca* “with which he both worships the gods and gives”. Mbh. 3, 293, 33 *vyādideśānuyātrāṃ ca gamyatāṃ cety acodayat*; Aśv. Bc. 8, 32 *upāgate ca tvayi kanthake ca...instead of u. t. ca... Notice also the order of words Kāl. R. 14, 44 *saumyeti cābhāṣya*. Other interesting cases showing that *ca* may also be postponed are: AV. 5, 7, 8...*cittam vīrtsantyākūtiṃ puruṣasya ca* “...the plan and design of a man”; 6, 44, 2; 5, 30, 16 *tayā yakṣmaṃ niravocaṃ śataṃ ropīś ca takmanaḥ*, where *ca* is second in the minor word group *r. t.*; Mbh. 3, 294, 4; 297, 4. As was already noticed in the Petrograd Dictionary *ca* can also be placed only after the first term of a pair: Manu 9, 322 *iha cāmutra*. The exigencies of versification may not rarely have played a rôle here: Kāl. R. 15, 67 *rāmasya ca tayos tadā*.*

In order to illustrate the difference between *ca* and other particles attention may for a moment be invited to a consideration of the specific

113. The same phenomenon occurs in Greek, where it not rarely tends to stand as the second word in the clause or sentence regardless of its syntactic connections: *Mnemosyne*, IV, 7. p. 284 f.

force of *atha*. On closer investigation the description of the function of this particle, which connects clauses as well as sentences, as given by DELBRÜCK¹¹⁴ does not appear to be completely satisfactory; especially the words: "das Anzuknüpfende erscheint dabei mit dem Vorhergehenden meistens innerlich verbunden, sei es dass es aus ihm folgt, oder zu ihm in einem gewissen Gegensatz steht" fail to give a true picture of this particle. SPEYER'S¹¹⁵ formulation "*atha* serves to introduce a new element" does not, on the other hand, appear to be happy either, because it may be open to question what is a "new element". *Atha* may be said essentially to express a natural, logical, or temporal sequence.¹¹⁶ Some examples are:¹¹⁷ *Ṣaḍv. Br. 2, 3, 2 tebhya etān dhuraḥ prāṇān prāyacchan manaḥ prathamam atha prāṇam atha cakṣur atha śrotram atha vācam*; here the entities are presented as elements in a temporal sequence, not as complementary parts of a whole; 2, 3, 8 connecting the verbs of a "complex relative clause": *yo vā evaṃ dhuro vidvān athāsāṃ vrataṃ carati*; here two elements or phases are distinguished: first he knows, in the second place he performs a ritual act, and the performance of the act presupposes the knowledge; cf. also 2, 10, 3 *sa etān daivān ṛtvījo ṛtvāthaitān mānuṣān vṛṇīta*. A subsequent event, pericope, point, or division is often introduced by *atha* JB. 2, 269 *eṣa ha tarhy anuvyāhāra āsa. atha ha mauṇḍibho... trayyai vidyāyai kassavita āsa* "that was at that time the cursing. Now, M. was acquainted with...". This use of *atha* may also be illustrated by passages from later authors: Aśv. Bc. 8, 14 "next"; 20; 49 "then"; 81 "or"; 89 f.

It is on the other hand not surprising that, for instance in enumerations, the difference between *atha* and *ca* came to be obliterated: whereas in Aśv. Bc. 12, 67 there exists a relation between the second (pupil) and the third (teacher) of the persons enumerated which does not exist between these and the first:¹¹⁸ *jaigīṣavyo 'tha janako vṛddhaś caiva parāśaraḥ* — and so the position of the particle is in accordance with their traditional meaning—elsewhere there is no difference perceptible: *Manu 12, 10 vāgdaṇḍo 'tha manodaṇḍaḥ kāyadaṇḍas tathaiva ca*; *Pañc. 5, 11 vyādhitena saśokena... kāmārthenātha mattena*, where it serves to make the last member heavier. The combination of these particles seems to express the sense of *ca* as well as that of *atha*: *Bhagavadgītā 2, 25 f. nānuśocitum arhasi // atha ca... nai-*

114. DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 534 f.

115. SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 332 f.

116. Like *ca*, *atha* may sometimes be translated by "but", the sequence implying a contrast.

117. In addition to those given by DELBRÜCK, l.c., and by A. A. MACDONELL, *A Vedic grammar for students*, Oxford 1916, p. 214.

118. See *Mbh. 12, 320, 24* and E. H. JOHNSTON, *The Buddhacarita*, II, Calcutta 1936, p. 178, n.

nam śocitum arhasi: "He is unmanifest, so do not grieve; but if you believe him to be manifest, do not grieve either". Cf. e.g. also Bhāsa, Vās. 6, 11 +. Significantly enough this combination is also found in connection with *anya*:- Mbh. 11, 5, 13 *atha tatrāpi cānyaḥ*.... Very interesting is a passage in the Maitrī Upaniṣad 7, 8 which whilst dealing with the hindrances to knowledge enumerates six categories of persons with which one should not associate. Each category, with the inclusion of the first, is introduced by *atha ye cānye ha* "there are some (others) who....", *atha* opening and continuing the enumeration and the repeated *ca* indicating that it is meant to be complete.

A word may also be said on the relation between *ca* and *tathā*. That a term for "in that manner, thus, likewise" assuming also the sense of "so also, also", develops into a connective particle is no more surprising than its preference for a position towards the end of a coordinated group of words: Manu 1, 24 *kālaṃ kālavihaktiś ca nakṣatrāṇi grahāṃs tathā* (that the two terms mentioned first are connected by *ca* is not fortuitous; *tathā* is more than a weak "and"). Elsewhere *tathā* means: "in a similar (the same) way, also": 3, 189 *vāyuvac cānugacchanti tathāsinān upāsate* (*vāyu* = *prāṇavāyu* -). Similarity in manner, kind, or quality is denoted by *tathā* in instances such as: 3, 285 *vighaso bhuktaśeṣaṃ tu yajñaśeṣaṃ tathāmṛtam*. The force of both particles may combine: 2, 100 *vaśe kṛtvendriyagrāmaṃ saṃyamya ca manas tathā*: the *manas* and the *indriyas* complement each other and the process expressed by the verb is represented as applying to both objects in like manner. Cf. also *tathā ca* — the history of which cannot be traced here — in 9, 18 f.; 45. Elsewhere *tathaiva ca* occurs at the end of an enumeration, or of a stanza, thus in the polysyndetic 3, 160. Or *tathā* is put at the end of a verse or half-verse: Mbh. 3, 55, 8.

Although we cannot study here the use of *tathā* in the minutest details it may be of interest to observe that Mbh. 1, 3, 135 *surūpā bāhurūpās ca*, which as we have seen is a *ca* group of a common type, is extended by *tathā kalmāṣakuṇḍalāḥ*, the last adjective semantically belonging to another category. Similarly Manu 1, 24 (see above). Cf. also Mbh. 7, 184, 51.

Special interest attaches to the rather rare combination *ca...uta* (*utāho*). In Schlegel and Lassen's *Hitopadeśa* the stanza 1, 105 (103) runs as follows...*syāc ca niṣkāraṇo bandhur uta viśvāsaghātakah*; Peterson's edition has: *vā kiṃ vā*. Here *ca...uta* is equivalent to *vā uta*.¹¹⁹ Pāli Jāt. I, 176 *kiṃ pana vo manussā sabbe ca kukkure mārenti udāhu maraṇaṃ alabhantāpi atthāti* "do your people kill all dogs without exception, or are there some dogs who are spared?".

119. For disjunctive interrogations in general see SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 414.

It may finally be asked whether *ca* in *cana* (*kaś cana* etc.) comes also under this heading.¹²⁰ In JUB. 1, 15, 1 *taṃ na śayānā nāsīnāḥ...naiva kena cana karmaṇāpnuvan* and other sentences of this construction *ca* may, in principle, be regarded as having its usual function, occurring — what is in itself not surprising — only in the last member of the series. With regard to *na* in *cana* its original identity with the negative particle *na* may perhaps be considered probable. In RV. 8, 91, 3 (see further on); 1, 155, 5 *trīyam asya nakir ā dadharṣati, vayas cana patayantaḥ patatrināḥ* “no one dares approach his third (step), not even the winged birds though they fly”;¹²¹ 8, 1, 5 *mahe cana...śulkāya* “not even...for a great price”; 2, 24, 12; 6, 3, 2 *evā cana taṃ yaśasām ajuṣṭir nāṇho martam naṣate na pradṛptiḥ* “thus neither the disfavour of the honoured hits that mortal, nor anxiety nor infatuation”, where *cana* is negative and co-ordinated with other *na* clauses, this identity is even beyond any doubt. The frequent occurrence of *cana* in negative sentences may be supposed to represent a comparatively ancient use, superfluous repetition of a negation being a common element of popular speech: compare the *ain’t no* constructions in popular English, *haud non* = *non* in the Latin comedian Plautus etc. Thus AV. 1, 20, 4 *na yasya hanyate sakhā na jīyate kadā cana* may from the point of view of the “original state of affairs” have contained, not only the logically superfluous, but emotionally intelligible last *na*, but also a complementary *ca*. The supposition does in itself not appear to be too hazardous that in the times in which this construction was first used, it literally meant: “whose companion is not slain, is (on the other hand, also) not overpowered at any time, no (he isn’t)”. A similar interpretation seems possible in cases such as AV. 10, 8, 44 *akāmo dhīro amṛtaḥ...na kutaś canonāḥ* “free from desire, wise, free from death... not deficient in any respect”; 18, 2, 32 *yamaḥ paro ’varo vivasvān tataḥ param nāti paśyāmi kiṃ cana* “Yama beyond, below Vivasvant — beyond that do I see nothing whatever”: the double *na* and *ca* in connection with a word for a complementary idea; 19, 46, 3 *śataṃ cana praharanto nighnanto yaṃ na tatrīre* “whom even a hundred, hurling, smiting down, have not subdued (to him Indra gave...strength)”; the occurrence of *ca* in “complementary relative” clauses was, as stated in one of the preceding paragraphs, far from rare; a complementary (opposite) thought is also very evident in sentences of the types AV. 7, 37, 1 *yathāso mama kevalo nānyāsām kīrtayās cana*, and 6, 130, 3 *yathā mama smarād asau nāmuṣyāhaṃ kadā cana*. From some of these instances it appears that *cana* is not necessarily associated with an indefinite-

120. See also E. CHANNING, *J. Am. Or. Soc.* 13 (1886), p. CXCIX ff., esp. CI f.; DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 544 f. and, especially, J. WACKERNAGEL-A. DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik* III, Göttingen 1930, p. 562, from whom we differ.

121. There seem to be no good grounds for believing, with DELBRÜCK l.c., this construction to be the only original one.

interrogative pronoun: cf. also RV. 1, 18, 7 *yasmād rte na sidhyati yajño vipāścitaś cana* "without whom the sacrifice does not succeed (not) even of a wise man", where—after a negative in one and the same clause—*cana* is again to be translated by "even", not by "and not, not even"; 1, 55, 1 *indram na mahnā pṛthivī cana prati* "even the earth (in contradistinction to its complement, the sky, mentioned in the preceding pāda) . . .", "auch die Erde" (GELDNER), "la terre même" (RENOU).

The occasional occurrence of *ca* in clauses containing *cana* cannot be adduced as an argument against the above hypothesis, since the double *na* shows how easily these "logically incorrect" constructions may become mechanized: AV. 10, 5, 23 *mā ca naḥ kiṃ canāmamat*. In this example the very appearance of *na* in a clause introduced by *mā* should, if that hypothesis is correct, be considered another indication of the stereotyped character of this phrase; cf. also 3, 19, 8.

RV. 8, 91, 3 can on the other hand be quoted in favour of this hypothesis: *ā cana tvā cikitsāmo 'dhi cana tvā nemasi* "wir möchten dich zwar nicht verstehen und doch misverstehen wir dich nicht", the double *ca* being in perfect harmony with what has, in the preceding part of this treatise, been shown to be the character of this construction. Of another point of interest passing mention has already been made: the comparatively large number of cases in which *cana* forms part of a clause which occurs at the end of a sequence of co-ordinated clauses: cf. e.g. AV. 9, 2, 10 "be they all senseless, sapless, let them not live any day soever" (*katamac canāhaḥ*); 11, 9, 20; cf. 12, 1, 18. It might be objected that the very position of *ca*—cf. also instances such as AV. 4, 26, 6 *ye . . . ye . . . yābhyām rte na kiṃ cana śaknuvanti* "without whom (men) can (do) nothing whatever"—is unusual. However, passages are not wanting in which the particle follows that element of the clause in which the complementary idea is most manifest: RV. 9, 95, 3 *namasyantīr upa ca yanti saṃ cā ca viśanti*; JUB. 3, 37, 3 *tad ye ca ha vā ime prāṇā amī ca raśmayah*; 4, 21, 5 *yad enad gacchatiṃ ca mano 'nena cainad upasmarati . . . saṃkalpah* "that which both goes as mind, as it were, and through it (mind) imagination . . . remembers it". Since the particle tends to occupy the second position in a word group the phrases *kaś cana*, *kadā cana* may be supposed to have originally constituted word groups comparable to that in the clause Rām. 1, 1, 4 *kasya bibhyati devās ca* ". . . even the gods (not only human beings)". One might also compare RV. 1, 113, 8 *vyuchantī jīvam udīrayanty uṣā mṛtaṃ kaṃ cana bodhayantī* "Dawn . . . rousing what lives but not awakening anyone deceased". Thus the complementary idea implied in sentences such as AV. 18, 2, 32 (see above) obviously manifested itself especially in the indefinite pronoun, which, being in negative sentences

a popular and widespread emotive element,¹²² is apt to attract particles of this character.¹²³ *Kadā ca na*, for instance, may originally have meant "not even at any time" (as opposed to a suppressed or implied "not now, but then"). Compare e.g. also JUB. 1, 52, 8 *yad vo na kaś canāvṛta tad aham parihariṣye*: "I" as opposed to "no one of you". As regards *cana* in other contexts, the sense of "not even" is, as already stated, evident in cases such as AV. 19, 46, 3 (see above): "(let the unsubdued one defend you), whom even a hundred have not subdued" (*śataṃ cana*). In JUB. 4, 14, 7 the second sentence may, by way of climax, be regarded as a complement to the former: "we have desired to obtain heaven, yet again and again... we have not even in any way perceived its door": *dvāraṃ nānu canābhutsmaḥi*. One might compare the use of the Greek *oude* in the same sense of climax: "not even"; in certain passages, where it is clearly not connective and where "not even" is also inappropriate, it appears merely to signify an emphatic negative.¹²⁴

It must further be borne in mind that these phrases whatever their origin, are apt to assume a stereotype and mechanical character. The particle *cana* could, in a few passages, even when there was no accompanying negative, get rid of its negative sense: RV 6, 26, 7 *aham cana tat sūribhir ānaśyām* "I too would acquire this with the patrons". As this use is comparatively speaking rare it may be supposed to have originated in a "re-interpretation" of the negative *na...cana*. "Derailments" of this kind are also found in other languages: the Latin *quin* (<**quī-ne* "how not, why not") occasionally occurs after an affirmative clause.¹²⁵

In order to substantiate the above tentative approach to understanding the origin of the phrases with *cana* some R̥gvedic passages may by way of addition find a place here. An evident opposition is expressed 10, 185, 2 *nahī...amā cana nādhvasu vāraṇeṣu*. The combination *cana* contains *ca* in

122. Cf. e.g., Engl. *never* = *not* (*never mind*); Lat. *nullus* = *non*, which itself comes from *ne oīnom* "not one"; the German *nichts* originally meant "never anything" (*nī eo wiht*). See e.g., W. HAVERS, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg 1931, p. 157 ff., 256; J. B. HOFMANN, *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, Heidelberg 1936, p. 79 f.; J. WACKERNAGEL, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* II², Basel 1928, p. 306 ff. etc.

123. Thus the Greek *oudeis* "no one, none" contains the adversative and copulative particle *de*; the original *oude heis* "not even one, none whatever" survives in a more emphatic and "literal" use.

124. See for instance J. D. DENNISTON, *The Greek particles*², Oxford 1954, p. 196 f.

125. I refer to J. B. HOFMANN, in M. LEUMANN—J. B. HOFMANN, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München 1928, p. 787. Compare also the history of German *nur* < *newaere* "wäre nicht, es wäre denn": originally meaning, in connection with a negation, "not but (except)" it could, after the disappearance of the negation, also have developed into an expression for "merely, only" and "irgend."

the sense of "even": 7, 32, 19 (*na*) . . . *pitā cana* "not even the father" (*na* "not"); 1, 166, 12; 5, 34, 7; 41, 13. The stanza 8, 2, 14 *uktham cana śasyamānam agor arir ā ciketa/na gāyatraṁ gīyamānam* though as far as the construction is concerned correctly translated by "...hat noch nie, selbst nicht auf das Lobgedicht geachtet...noch auf sein gesungenes Lied" (Geldner) may be explained as originating in a "neither...nor" period opened for reasons of emphasis by *uktham ca*. Cf. also 7, 18, 9; 1, 150, 2 *kadā cana* "niemals...auch nur" (GELDNER, "not even, at any time"); cf. 1, 152, 2. After a negation: 5, 34, 5 *nāsunvatā sacate puṣyatā cana* "he does not associate with a man who does not press out (soma), not even if this man is prosperous (not to speak of others)"; 7, 59, 3 *caramam cana* "not even the last" (an implied contrast); 8, 23, 15; 24, 15 "not even formerly"; 28, 4; 10, 49, 10 *Tvaṣṭar (na devaś cana t.)* as opposed to Indra; 119, 7 *anyam pakṣam cana*; 86, 11 "also in future"; 95, 1 "nicht...auch nicht" (GELDNER). In 4, 18, 9 are *mamac cana* . . . *mamac cana* obviously negative, *m. cid* . . . *m. cid* in the second half of the stanza positive.¹²⁶

The conclusion may therefore be that as far as the present author is able to see, there are some arguments to assume, first: that *cana* contains the selfsame *ca*, originally fulfilling its usual function, and in the second place: that the traditional view that it was this *cana* which gave the interrogative pronoun an indefinite sense¹²⁷ cannot be adhered to. Just like *na kaś cana* "no one", *na ekaś cana* (RV. 7, 104, 3), *ekā cana na* (see e.g. JUB. 4, 13, 1) expressed the same meaning of "no one, not any one", *eka-* preserving its usual sense.

The Avestan enclitic particle *činā*¹²⁸ does not present any difficulty to the above explanation: accompanying *nōit* (*naēča*) or *mādha*—it always occurs in negative sentences, but the number of its occurrences is rather limited—it means "also not, not even". Cf. Yasna 30, 6 "among these two also the daēvas did not...": *daēvāčinā*.¹²⁹

Those scholars who have attempted to derive *cana* from the neuter instrumental of the pronoun *ka*-¹³⁰ can, however, adduce another argument

126. See GELDNER, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt* I², p. 442.

127. See e.g. also A. A. MACDONELL, *A Vedic grammar for students*, Oxford (1953), p. 230.

128. For which see Chr. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, 594 f. See also sub *čina-*, n. 2.

129. "Non plus" J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Zoroastre*, Paris 1948, p. 239.

130. I refer to WACKERNAGEL-DEBRÜNNER, l.c. This etymology of the particle A.I. *cana*, Av. *činā* which was also defended by A. WALDE—J. POKORNY, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, p. 399 (from the pronominal stem

the weight of which cannot be denied. If the second syllable of *cana* originally contained a logically superfluous *na*, the occurrence of this negative in this position is unusual; it must have originated in special types of sentences (cf. e.g. RV. 6, 3, 2; AV. 4, 26, 6; RV. 1, 113, 8; JUB. 4, 14, 7, see above). The particle was indeed for two reasons highly remarkable. In the first place emphatic denial by means of repeating the negation is in Ancient Indian unlike many other languages, extremely rare.¹³¹ RV. 1, 165, 9, according to Miss Channing a "simple and unequivocal instance of a double negation" in this sense, admits of another interpretation;¹³² 1, 81, 5 *na tvāvāñ indra kaś cana/na jāto na janiṣyate* and 8, 24, 15 (cf. also 10, 39, 11) may however be mentioned in this connection. The likewise emphatic final position of the negative particle—which is for instance frequent in Greek, especially in antithetical clauses:¹³³ —is, on the other hand, only incidentally found in prose texts:¹³⁴ cf. e.g. Sarvajñātma, Saṃkṣ. 2, 91 *sambhavatīti na. duṣyati* "(it) is not right. It is defective". An interesting passage may be quoted here from Bhāsa's Vāsavadattā, to show that both peculiarities may, however, sporadically combine: 5, 8 + *avihā asambhāvanīyam edaṃ na*¹³⁵ = *avidhā asambhāvanīyam etad na* (thus Sarup) "goodness gracious! but it's impossible, isn't it?" (Woolner-Sarup) or "this is well nigh impossible" (Sarup). Has this type of sentence atrophied in Sanskrit literature?

It would be out of place here to expatiate upon another debatable question which cannot be dissociated from the problem of the origin of the Anc.-Ind. *cana*, viz. the etymology of the Gothic *-hun*.¹³⁶ In Gothic the ideas "no one" and "nothing" are expressed by means of the subst. *manna* "human being", the pronoun *hvas* "somebody, someone" or the numeral *ains* "one" preceded by *ni* "not" and followed by an enclitic particle *-hun*, which, however, can be omitted in case of *manna*. The resemblance between these phrases and *na kaś cana* etc. is obvious. The same particle occurs also in an affirmative context in the sense of "especially" (Gr. *malista (de)*), e.g.

**kuo-*) has not been reproduced in POKORNY's Indogermanisches etym. Wtb., Bern (1953), p. 641.—For the position of the negative particle see the author's *Place de la particule négative na dans la phrase en veil indien* (1951, esp. p. 77 ff.).

131. See *La place de la particule négative na dans la phrase en vieil indien*, p. 67, CHANNING, o.c., p. Cf., and SPEYER, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 319, n. 4. Cf. Rām. 3, 47, 8.

132. See GELDNER, *Der Rig-Veda*, I², p. 239.

133. See R. KÜHNER-B. GERTH, *Ausführliche Gramm. d. Gr. Spr.*, Satzlehre II⁴ (1955), p. 179.

134. See *La place de la particule négative na dans la phrase en vieil indien*, p. 51.

135. In C. R. DEVADHAR's edition, Poona 1937, *na* is eliminated.

136. The reader might be referred to S. FEIST, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*³, Leiden 1939, p. 275.

Gal. 6, 10; 1 Tim. 4, 10 "of all men, especially of those who believe". If *-hun* is, with WALDE-POKORNY,¹³⁷ derived from **k^ue-ne* (reduced grade) this form need not necessarily contain a pronominal stem;¹³⁸ it can also contain the particle **k^ue* (>Skt. *ca*, Gothic- *-uh* or *-h*), the use of which, as has been shown elsewhere,¹³⁹ exactly agrees with that of its relatives in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. The explications proposed for the element *n* (from the pronominal stem *no*-¹⁴⁰ or instr. ending¹⁴¹) appear to be no more convincing than the supposition, defended by WALDE-POKORNY, that it goes back to the negative particle.

Abbreviations

Most abbreviations will be clear: AV. = Atharvavedasamhitā etc. As far as Vedic texts are concerned BLOOMFIELD'S System (Concordance) has been adopted.

Ār. Jāt. : Āryaśūra, Jātakamālā.

Aś. : Aśoka's inscriptions.

Budh. Bk. : Budhasvāmin, Bṛhatkathāślokaṣaṁgraha ed. Lacôte.

Jayar. Har. : Jayaratha, Haracaritacintāmaṇi (see J. BROUGH, Selections from class. Skt. lit., London, 1951).

Nīl. P. : Nīlamatapūrāṇa.

Pat. : Patañjali.

Sub. Vas. : Subandhu, Vāsavadattā.

Vikr. : Vikramacarita, ed. EDGERTON.

137. WALDE-POKORNY, o.c., I, p. 399 f.

138. Compare also K. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss der vgl. Gramm. d. indogerm. Sprachen* II², 2, p. 353.

139. See the above-mentioned articles in the *Mnemosyne*.

140. P. PERSSON, *Indogerm. Forsch.* 2, p. 207 ff., whose expatiations are in need of reconsideration.

141. J. SCHMIDT, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* 32, p. 402.

LIST OF REMARKABLE WORDS FROM THE KASHMIRIAN (PAIPPALĀDĀ) VERSION OF THE ATHARVA VEDA

(according to L. C. BARRET's edition).

By

LOUIS RENOU, Paris

[N.B.—This list does not claim to be complete, although in some respects I have perhaps given more than I should have done. Moreover, as a larger part of the text is corrupt or uncertain, word-forms have been quoted without mentioning the peculiarities of the verbal transmission.—The meanings are given, in part, tentatively. BARRET's suggestions have been mostly adopted, even in cases where little confidence in them has to be put.]

- aṃhūraṇa* 19.13,1 distress (plur.: *purā* ... *aṃhūraṇebhyaḥ*)
akṛtapūrva 16.123,3 (nt.) sth. not done before (*a°-aṃ karoti*)
akovidā 20.42,2 not skilled
akliṣṭa 5.28,3 unwearied
akṣikāma 1.7,5 ep. of the Apsaras', prob. a blunder for *akṣa°* (Ś.)
akṣivepa 20.50,7 trembling of the eyes (bad omen)
akṣiyamāna 2. 23, 5 imperishable (*utsa*)
agadhya 3.27,2 unseizable (Indra)
agasti 8.12,7 pl. (n. pr.)
agninetra 2.53,1 conducted by Agni (gods)
agnimedīn 16.73,5 having Agni for an ally (Indra)
agnivimocana 9.7,2 relief from fire
agneṣṭha 20.53,7 prob. a blunder for *agreṣṭhā*
agreṣṭhā 20.43,4 being at the summit (god)
aghaghātīnī 17.15,2 destroying in an evil way (female demon)
aghamenī 10.12,8 (meaning?)
aghavidhā 17.22,12 pierced (f.) by an evil [weapon]
aghārīnī 17.22,12 (meaning?)
aṅkati 8.12,6 (meaning?) (*kim aṅkatiṣv ichati*)
aṅgaṇiṣkarī 6.4,10 curing (f.) a limb (plant)
aṅgaroga 1.90,4 7.15,7 9.13,9 19.28,14 illness in the limbs
aṅgoṣṭhī or *°ṣṭrī* 6.3,12 (meaning?) (ep. of the waters)
ajānya 20.7,10 (*yakṣma*)
atitara 2.89,1; 3; 5 passing through (*maṇi*).

- atidiś* 16.99,7 intermediate quarter (= *vidiś*)
atiduhmā 17.15,8 (f.) ep. of a *sadānvā* (meaning ?)
atipauruṣa 13.3,14 = °*pūruṣa*
ativṛddhi 16.60,2 extreme success or growth
atiśoka 1.32,3 extreme burning
atiśocana 19.26,11 extremely burning
atiṣṭhāvan 2.69,5 superior (beside *bārhaspatya*, as ep. of a god)
atikāśa 4.40,3 opening (*trayo 'tīkāśāḥ*)
adanīya, cf. *kṣīra*°
adabhāyus 5.2,7 having unimpaired vigour (Ś. *na dabhāya*)
adārasu 19.16,5 (meaning ?) (Ś. *adārasṛt*)
adigdha 19.54,10 not being poisoned
adrṣṭadahanī 9.6,1 burning (f.) the invisible [insects] but prob. a blunder for °*hananī*
adrṣṭavīrya 20.49,8 whose energy is not perceptible
adrṣṭahananī 5.3,4 destroying (f.) the invisible [insects] (plant)
adevaraghñī 20.19,3 not killing (f.) the husband's brother, cf. Ś. *adevr*°
adehya 2.2,5 not to anoint (with poison)
adbhutacakṣus 18.25,4 whose sight is wonderful (sun's bull)
adhījarāyu 11.5 (passim) accompanied by the after-birth (cow)
adhijāta 17.23,4-11 born from (+ Ab.)
adhinirmīta 9.23,8;12 constructed (*yajña* ; *saṃvatsara*)
adhivaktṛ 9.3,1 advocate (*yajña* ; *bhaga* ; *agni*)
adhomadha 16.4,8 (meaning?) (Ś. *ado*°)
adhvagaghātīn 16.104,7 killing the travellers (Rudra)
anagnidagdhādīnī 17.14,10 eating (f.) those who have not been burned by the fire (demon)
anaṅguli 16.81,4 devoid of fingers (demon)
anabhrikhātā 9.9,5 not dug out (f.) with a spade (plant)
anavakṣāma 16.124,7 not wasted (also said of the food), cf. Ś. *ava*°
anasvinī 16.36,5 (Ś. *anasvatī*)
anahyamāna 16.120,1 not tied up
anābhi 20.41,2 being without relationship
anāmayat 10.12,1 not painful (*āyus*)
anārta 9.22,24 painless (*anārtam ārtiyāḥ*)
anārya 20.24,8 bes. *sūdra*
anāvayu 19.5,7 (Ś. *anābayu*)
anāṣṭra 5.28,2 no [danger of] destruction (*anāṣṭram naṣ pitaras tat kṛṇota*); 10.2,5 free from danger
anāhut(a) 6.14,1 not sacrificing (demon)
anāhata 20.38,3 not struck down (*gardabha*), prob. a blunder for *anāhita*
anutantunā 3.29,2 (meaning?) f. ep. of a plant

- anunmudita* 5.17,6;7 free from mental insanity
anupadasyant 3.25,8-9 (Ś. °*dasvant*)
 °*anuprasāra* cf. *sarva*°
anumadhyama 20.24,10 next oldest to the middle
anuyātu 20.42,4 sorcerer in the form of an *anu* (bes. *devayātu*, *brahmayātu*, etc.)
anuvatsara 17.29,15 a kind of year
anuvarti 2.75,1-5 compliance, obliging (spec. in *anuvartim kṛṇotu*)
anuveṣṭa 8.8,3 n. of a part of the body (pl.)
anuvyādha 2.85,4 7.15,1 piercing
anuṣṭhā 16.111,1 obviously (*yaḥ...brahmānuṣṭhā vidyāt* : Ś. *pratyakṣam*)
anuṣṭhātrī 10.16,2 undertaker (f.) (*rātrī*)
anuṣṭhuga 20.27,10 going immediately after (*vatsa*)
anūcyāyanī 20.18,9 (f.), ep. of an unlucky mark
anṛchanṭī 1.36,1; 4 not touching (us) (f.) (demon)
anṛtavādīn 9.19,2 untruth-speaking
anṛmṇa 19.50,11;12 absence of courage
anejant 9.6,12 not moving (worm)
antakajīṣṇu 2.85,1 (meaning?)
antarikṣātsad 2.53,5; 54, 4 residing in the atmosphere (gods; Br̥haspati) (bes. *dakṣiṇāt*° *uttarāt*°)
antraguda 17.29,10 (nt. sg.) bowels
antrād(a) 4.30,1 eater of bowels
annakāmya 9.22,22 food-wishing
annayoga 16.127,3 (pl.: *annayogair vo yunajmi*)
anya 10.4,1;8 inexhaustible
anyajā 3.39,3 ready to give birth again
anyānarānandā 3.37,3 taking (f.) pleasure with other women's husbands
anyedyuṣka 1.45,1 of the other day (fever)
anvakṣcut (ā) 16.73,4 sprinkling along
anvañcanī 6.4,2 friendly disposed (f.) (plant) (*śaśvatām a*°)
anvr̥ju 5.21,6 moving in the right way
apakṣudh(a) 16.93,1-10; 94,1-7; 95,1-7 hunger-removing
apatyatā 16.149,7 a blunder for *apatitā*
apadagdha 7.7,8 burned out (*duḥsvapnya*)
apadeśana 20.55,3 (msc.) (meaning?)
apanvant 5.27,6 a blunder for *asunvant*
aparapād(a) 17.29,9 back-feet (du.), bes. *pūrvapād(a)*
aparṇa 19.34,16 being without wings or leaves (ep. of *śira* masc.); cf. also 2.70,5
apavāc(a) 2.81,1 evil speaking
apaśutā 16.149,8 absence of cattle

- apaskanda 2.24,5 n. of an oblation; cf. *ibid.* *yakṣmam apa skandayantu... asmāt*
- apasthāpana 1.58,4 driving away (*a°-bheṣajam*)
- apasphāna 1.58,1 getting meagre (bes. *saṁsphāna*)
- apāpakāsānī 14.2,8 (f.) (*rudrasya tanū*), cf. *VS.°kāśinī*
- apigaṇa 19.54,4 having followers close to [him] (*apigaṇam mā kuru*, and cf. *sagaṇa*, *ibid.*)
- apinaddhamukha 19.32,13 whose mouth is closed (*ākhu*)
- apiśara 11.2,10 a kind of disease (*apiśaram viśaram*)
- apiṣṭa 2.2,5 not crushed (poison; bes. *piṣṭa*)
- aputraghnī 20.19,3 not killing (f.) her son(s)
- aputratā 16.149,6 absence of son
- apurohita 10.4,6 not being a *pu°*
- apyoṣantī 20.20,5 (f.) (meaning ?) (*lakṣmī*)
- aprativādha 3.27,4; 6 not being beaten back (*tvā ... aprativadham kṛṇotu*)
- apratīṣṭhā 16.47,7 not (being) a support, bes. *pratīṣṭhitā*
- aphālakṛṣṭa 15.23,13 not produced by ploughing
- abgaṇa 17.29,15 (pl.) mass of waters
- abhikṛtvāra 16.70,6 acting against (acc.)
- abhidhṛṣṇu 8.12,7 bold against
- abhibhūvarī 2.41,5 dominating (f.)
- abhimanya 12.7,10 intending to injure (said of a kind of waters)
- abhimanyu 16.70,6 thinking against (acc.)
- abhirāvan 16.70,6 bestowing against (acc.)
- abhivardha (or, *abhī°*) 4.27,2; 4; 5 13.3,13 over-growing (amulet), cf. *ibid.*
- abhī vardhasva* (*Ś. abhivarta*)
- abhiviśoka 4.24,1
- abhivyādha 19.41,16; 42,1 wound
- abhiśāc(a) 19.28,15 overpowering (*yakṣma*)
- abhiṣecana 8.10,8 sprinkling (in *bhāgābhi°*), said of the waters
- abhīla (-lā -lī) 20.58,7; 8; 59,1; 2 a kind of enemies
- abhīvardha cf. *abhi°*
- abhyañjana 4.10,8 inunction
- abhrikhātā cf. *anabhīrī°*
- amarīṣṇu 20.48,10 (meaning ? *RV. namayīṣṇu*)
- amartyajā 16.151,9 born from an immortal
- AM—: *āmayatu* 2.49,1-5; 50,1-6
- with *niḥ* (*niremiṣe*) 5.36,7 9.22,15 (object; *kṣetram, annam*) (meaning?)
- with *vi* (*vyāmiṣe*) 5.36,9
- with *saṁ* (*saṁāmiṣe*) 5.36,4
- amarmantara 2.41,4 more invulnerable (gods, compared with Asuras)
- amiti 16.46,6 (bes. *nirṛti*; to read *amati*)

- ambarajiṣṇu* 17.22,6 conqueror of the sky
ayakṣmatā 4.34,5 absence of *yakṣma*
ayaḥśapha 9.6,4 having hoofs of iron (mule)
ayaska 8. 15,2 (pl.) pr. name
ayovārā 17.15,7 (meaning ?) (female demon)
araḍuka 10.3,2 made of araḍu-wood
ariklava 16.104,2 n. of a wild animal
ariṣṭapaśu 1.97,4 whose cattle is not damaged or lost
aru 1.94,4 wound
aruṣpāna 1.8,3 wound-healer (Ś. *aruḥsrāṇa*)
aropi 9.10,6; 11 absence of pain (cf. *na ropayati* 8) (*tanvo aropayah*)
ardhuka 10.9,3 prospering
arya 2.32,5 3.13,8 9.10,5 19.38,15 20.24,8 a member of the first classes,
 contrasted with *śūdra*, q.v.; may also be read as *ārya*
arvāṇṛti 20.42,7 attacking from this side
ala 11.2,13 n. of a poison
alavaṇa 8.10,2 without salt (*anna*)
alavati 11.2,5 n. of a hostile being
alābugandhi 17.12,8 bottle-gourd smelling (Asura)
alin 9.6,12 n. of a kind of worms
avagamaya 19.23,14 procuring (*havis*), cf. *ava gamayāmasi* 15
avartimant 9.18,4 possessed of distress (*rāṣṭra*)
avaspati 2.54,3 master of the favour
avākha 19.47,1 n. of an animal
avālipṣa 1.69,1-3 n. of an amulet
avicṛtya 19.11,4 not to be loosened (*dāman*)
avidalā 20.52,10 not split (f.) (*yoni*)
avidūrāt 5.2,5 near
avimokya 3.3,6 (Ś. *amokya*)
aviliṣṭa 20.25,5 without disorder or fractures
aviṣkandha 1.46,3 free from *vi*^o
avihvṛt 19.38,1 not going astray (*cakṣus*)
avrṣṭidatta 5. 31, 3 (meaning ?)
avyayatva 5.28,8 imperishableness
AŚ—: āśima 9.22,9 (*yad annam āśima*)
āsocana 5.19,7 not glowing or burning
āsociṣka 19.26,14 being without glow (*rūpa*)
āśroṇa 1.22,3 (Ś. *āśloṇa*)
aṣṭaśarāva 9.21,8 made on eight plates (ritual cake)
aṣṭācīti 20.61,7 having eight layers
asamśūktagira 16.106,10 (Ś. °*gila*)
asunnvakā 5.27,7 not offering (f.) (*Nirṛti*)

- asumatī* 5.10,10 endowed (f.) with breath (arrow)
asṛksthāna 20.54,3 site of the blood
asṛṣṭi 20.49,8 (meaning ?) cf. *āṣṛṣṭi*^o
asoṣpati 1.6,2 lord of the breath (Ś. *vasoṣ*^o)
askandika or *-ā* 15.18,7 (meaning ?)
astrāyitā 19.18, 3 used (f.) as a missile weapon (*iṣu*)
aharjaram 20.48,9 as the days become older and older
ahijambha 11.7,1 swallowing like a snake
ahidaṣṭa 9.8,8 bitten by a snake
ahināsika 6.14,2 having a nose like a snake (demon)

ākanikradam 1.55,1 roaring
āklānta 11.2,7 tired
ākṣita 1.63,1 dwelling
ākha 19.47,1 = *ākhu*
ākhaṇa 9.25,5 11.7,10 target
āgamī 5.26,5 approaching (f.) (*dāsī*)
āgastya 8.15,2 n. pr.
āghoṣa 7.13,1 crying aloud (demon)
āchedana 7.5,12 cutting off (fig.) (*maṇi*); -ī 20.50,1 (f.) (*pārṣṇī*)
āṇḍāda 7.19,5 eating eggs (i.e.: testicles)
ātmacela 5.10,8 (meaning ?)
ātmanāna 5.11,8 born from one's self
ādibheṣaja 3.17,2 original medicine
ādhvastapakṣin 20.57,9 (meaning ?)
ānujāvāra 4.27,1 after-born
ĀP—: with *pra* (*°āpantu*) 4.40,5
āpathika 13.3,1 (meaning ?)
āpaḥspṛṣ 8.6,7 touching water
āmantryā 20.19,1 fit to be addressed to (f.) (*lakṣmā*)
āmayat 3.2,6 disease, cf. *an*^o
āmādinī 17.14,10 eating (f.) raw meat (demon)
āyatta 2.49,1-5 depending on (with Gen.)
āyurvid 19.7,6 procuring long life
ārāgramātra 16.103,2 having the dimension of the tip of a spoke
āroga 5.6,10 n. of a kind of sun
āroha 19.40,10 mounting (*ārohān me mukhaṃ jātam*) and cf. *pakvāroha*
ārohaṇa 1.8,2 consisting on healing (Ś. *arogaṇa*)
ārya cf. *arya* and *dāsya*
ārśya 4.5,5 (Ś. *ārśa*)
ālaka 9.10,10 (meaning ?) bes. *vyālaka* (q.v.)
ālin cf. *alin*

āvedana 2.49,1-5 announcing
āśarīra 11.3,10 (Ś. *āśarīka*, both versions having beside *viśarīka*)
ĀS—: with *apa* (*apādhvam*) 19.52,2
 with *upa* (*upāśīyāḥ*) 5.40,8
āśīyāna 19.34,12 (meaning?) (*āśīyāno* 'dhi *manasāśīyāno* 'dhi *caḥṣuṣā*)
āsuteya 3.22,3 concoction
āsṛṣṭibheṣaja 19.25,6 (meaning?), cf. ib. 7 *ava chindhy āsṛṣṭim ūrvā hy asi*
 bheṣajī
āsyeja 9.11,4 born in the mouth (*viṣa*)
āheya 1.44,4 3.9,1-6 coming from a snake (*viṣa*)

I—: with *upā* (*upāyati*) 8.19,9 9.22,17 16.124,1-11 (*upeyima*)
indranutta 19.41,9 pushed away by Indra
indrarāśi 12.3 (passim) heap (of rice) set aside for a king
indrahata 9.6,3 slain by Indra
INDH—: with *sam* (*°indhīṣimahi*) 20.56,8
iṣṭkāḍanta 1.44,2 arrow-toothed
iṣupāvan 5.10,7 protecting from arrows
iṣuvant 4.39,5 (Ś. *iṣumant*)
iṣvaṅgin 2.25,5 having the limbs made of arrows
iṣvāruṣ(a) 20.42,2 (meaning?)

ĪKṢ—: with *upa* (*°prekṣāmahe*) 19.28,12 (Ś. *upatapyāmahe*)
 with *ava* (*°ikṣaye*) 20.53,8 to look at
ĪJ—: with *ud* (*°ījate*) 16.102,1, bes. *udajati*, and corresp. to Ś. *udacati* a.
 sicyate
ĪR—: with *ud* (*°īrdhvam* 10.14,10)

UKṢ—: *ukṣantu* 3.20,4 7.6,6 (Ś. *uchantu*)
uccaiḥśloka 5.14,1 whose fame goes aloft
ucchuṣma 1.111,2 (meaning?)
ucchocana 19.26,11 burning out
ucchnaka 16.59,1 (Ś. *ucchlaka*)
uttarātsad 2.53,4; 54,3 sitting to the North (gods), cf. *paścātsad* (etc.), ibid.
utpatatrin 5.20,5 jumping out (*tarda*)
utsaktabheṣaja 20.33,5 (meaning?)
utsaṅginī 20.18,8 deep-seated (f.) (unlucky mark)
udakatva: *udakasyodakatvam* 6.3,6
udakūlā 8.2,7 water-bank
udakegu or *udakaṃgu* 15.18,10 going in water
udatantu 19.28,7 water-thread
udaplut 19.22,12 (Ś. *°prut*)

udābhiṣikta 4.3,5 sprinkled with water (*rājan*)
udāra 10.14,10 (pl.) ep. of gods
udāhṛta 3.16,5 called
udumbara 10.9,10 (Ś. RV. *udumbala*)
udyaga 19.37,13; 14; 41,15 (meaning ?) (*na sampatatram udyagam*)
°udyama 6.6,1 effort
udvātana 7.18,9 n. pr. (Ś. *°vācana*)
unna 7.6,6 wetted [with, *ghṛtena*] (Maruts)
unmādayiṣṇu 1.29,3 intoxicating
unmudita cf. *anun*^o
upacika 1.8,3 6.7,6 19.13,5; 32,11 ant (Ś. *°jika*)
upatarpaṇi 4.13,3 f. ep. of a demon
upapakṣa 16.147,6 (du.) armpit
upapluta 19.36,18 approaching to (Dat.) (oblation)
upayodhin 2.25,4 fighting (*ratha*)
upavṛtra 6.14,2 inferior Vṛtra or enemy
upodaka 1.44,1 8.2,4 water-haunting
ubhayedyus 1.32,4 on both parts of the day
urukṣiti 20.13,3 having a large abode
urvāyus 8.1,11 long life (*tasmā urvāyuh kṛṇuhi*)
ululākṛta 2.55,5 n. of hostile beings
ullabdha 4.23,3 12.5,2 taken out of (object: *ghṛtāt*)
UṢ—: cf. *apyoṣantī* a. *praty*^o
uṣasī twilight 13.12,12
uṣṭa burnt 3.16,4 (*ahi*)

ūrja 12.7,5 (pl.) n. of a kind of waters
ūrjabhṛt 4.13,3 supporting life-vigour
ūrdhvanabhas 8.12,5 16.124,11 being above the clouds (god)
ūrdhvaloka 17.29,7 belonging to the world above
ūrdhvaścut 12.7,1 sprinkling upwards (a kind of waters)
ūrdhvasrāṇi 4.5,4 having an erected member

R—: with *upa* (*upāṇudhvam*) 7.6,3
ṛjukeśa 7.8,4 with straight hair (*yava*)
ṛtumukha 4.40,5 beginning of the season
RDH—: with *pra* (*prārdhnuvanti*) 2.57,3 (*prārdhūta*) 13.14,16
rṣṇu 11.4,5 (Ś. *kṛtvān*)

ekanāḍa 2.6,1 having one seat
ekapātraudana 5.14,2 rice-dish made in one receptacle
ekarājñi 7.12, 1-2 having (f.) one king (plant)

ekalāmikā (or °*lāsikā* °*mālikā*) 7.12,1; 2 f. ep. of a plant
ekavratā 7.12,1; 2 having (f.) one vow (plant)
ekaśarāva 9.21,1 made on one plate (ritual cake)
ekaśṛṅgā 16.12,3 having (f.) one horn (plant)
ekasthā 7.12,1; 2 standing (f.) in one place (plant)
ekasthūna 4.1,7 having one pillar (*vimita*)
ekādaśaśarāva 9.21,11 made on eleven plates (ritual cake)

aikaśaphā 6.15,8 proper (f.) to an animal with uncloven hoofs (*ūrjū*)
aikahāyana 9.22,4 16.130,1 one year (*yad arvācīnam aikahāyanād anytam kiṃ
 codima*)

odanaloka 16.126,4 having the rice-dish for a world
oṣajātā 15.1,9 (meaning ?) (*śakvarī*)
oṣṭa 7.2,1 shining hitherward, or abiding here

aupaśa 1.64,4 = *opaśa*

ka (f.kā) 16.46,1 earth (*kā cāsi kṣamā cāsi*)
kakudh (Loc. -*dhi*) 3.1,2 19.40,7 summit
kakundha 16.80,1 (Ś. *kukundha*)
kaṅkaṭadanti 5.9,1 (meaning ?)
kaṅthalagna 16.149,9 fastened to the throat (*kilbiṣa*)
kapiñjala 20.46,7-10 n. of a bird
karīṣaja 6.14,1 born from the dung (demon)
karūrabha 16.80,1 (Ś. *kukūrabha*)
karkaṭaka 4.21,2 n. of a plant
karnāśīla 7.15,4 disease of the ears
kardana 19.51,10 borborygm
karśabha 3.7,2 (Ś. *karśapha*)
kalmuṣī 16.147,7 n. of a part of the body (*aratnyor kalmuṣīr anu*)
kaśīpūpabarhaṇa (nt. pl.) 16.111,10 (Ś. id., nt. sg.)
kaṣ(a)kūla 10.2,10 river (= *kūlamkaṣa*)
kaṣkaṣā-kaṣkaṣāḥ (pl.) 19.29,4 thoroughly ground (with *piṣṭāḥ*), cf.
kaṣkaṣāsaḥ (only) Ś.
kāmaparājītā 1.93,2 defeated (f.) by Love (plant)
kāminī 1.18,4 full (f.) of love
kārkoṭa 1.48,1 n. of a demon (Ś. *śarkoṭā*; cf. 4 *śārkoṭa*)
kārṣīvaṇaprajāna 6.9,7 born from a husbandman
kāśāna 1.45,4 (meaning ?)
kāśī 13.1,12 (pl.) men of Kāśī
kikkiśa 5.15,9 n. of a kind of worms

- kilbiṣakṛt* 7.3,6 sin-maker
kīśmīla 19.32 (passim) n. of a disease
kutūhalā 17.14,3 wonderful (f.)
kumāravant 20.45,3 (pr. name)
kumāraśatru 20.58,5; 6 enemy of Kumāra (Rudra)
kuraṅga 4.21,2 antelope
kurīra 2.15,2 (Ś. *kurūru*)
kurūtunī 17.15,1 n. of a female demon
kulīnā 17.15,1 of good bred (f.) (*dhenu*)
kusulī 17.14,3 n. of a female demon
kūṭagrāha 12.6,10 (meaning ?)
kūḍamāna 19.36,17 burning
kṛtaṃcaya 1.49,1 gathering the winning die (Ś. *dhanamjaya*)
KṚS—: with *pra* (°*kṛṣant*) 8.18,1
kṛṣāyu 9.10,11 ploughing (ox)
kṛṣṇatara 19.40,1 more black (*keśa*)
kṛṣṇavartman (i) 19.26,13 whose way is black (f.)
kṛṣya 6.9,10 field
ketapa 1.15,3 protector of the will (*rājan*) (Ś. *kulapā*)
kairanḍa 9.8,6 (meaning ?)
kokamukha 6. 14, 1 n. of a demon
kovida 15.23,1 skilled; cf. *ako*°
KRAND—: with *abhi* (°*akrandit*) 16.21,5 (°*kanikratīḥ*) 2.33,4 (cows) with
niḥ (*kranday-*) 20.38,4
kṣatrabhṛt 13.14,7 15.1,4 bearer of secular power
kṣamā 16.46,1 earth
KṢI— (destroy): *kṣīyati* 6.3,8 (dwell) *saṃkṣīyema* 2.39,2
kṣiprahasta 17.21,4 quick-handed
kṣīrādanīya 5.6,2 (meaning ?)
kṣudrasūkta 8.15,6 small hymns (cf. Ś. 19.22,6; 23, 21)
kṣetrapatiya 1.99,4 landlordship
kṣetrabhaga 5.21,2 division of the field
kṣodīyas 15.23,9 more minute (*kṣudrāt kṣodīyasī*)

khadohiṇī 20.37,10 f. ep. of *kumbhī* (meaning ?)
khana 2.11,4 (Ś. *śaṇa*) 9.11,9
khalvala 19.26,12 n. of a demon
khātamūla 13.3,12 the root of which is dug up (*sapatna*)
KHID—: with *vi* (°*khidanti*) 16.73,5 to rent asunder
khenā 6.14,2 n. of a demon

- gaṅgaṇa* or *-ana* 16.145,12 17.15,7 going
gaṅgaparvan 20.13,7 (meaning ?) (°*parvaṇo viṣam*)
gaṇappravardhana 19.54,8 increasing the group
gaṇavardhana 19.54,6 *ibid.*
gaṇābhivardhana 19.54,7 *ibid.*
garbhadūṣaṇa 7.19,5 embryo-destroying
galantikā 16.124,10 (meaning ?)
galantin (or *-ī*, masc.) 16.124,10 (meaning ?) cf. *Ś. galunta*
galabhūṣ(ā) 2.33,5 having (f.) an ornament at the throat (cow)
galuntaka or *-ikā* 1.59,1 cf. *Ś. galunta*
GĀ— (to go): *jigīmahe* 9.10,10
 with *anu-pṛa* (°*geṣma*) 16.92,6
gātravid 1.54,1 (*kavi*), prob. to read *gātu°*
GĀH—: with *ava* 7.13,11 15.19,10 to bathe into (object: *tīrtham*)
 with *prati* 7.13,10 15.19,9 to bathe into (object: *nadīḥ*)
gir(a) 5.33,9 as internal object of *saṃ girāmi*
girigiri 16.47,3 as an intensive of *girayantī*
giriśa and *giriśanta* 14.2,5; 8 ep. of Rudra
gilvikā 1.59,3 n. of a plant
guruchāyā 17.15,8 f. ep. of a *sadānvā*
gulgulu 2.20,2; 21,6 13.4,3 (*Ś. guggulu*)
gusthita 4.34,2 for *guṣṭita*
GUH—: *aghukṣanta* 10.1,11
gūḍha 2.84,9 (du.) secret organ
GR— (to watch): *jāgrata* 1.14,1 (*Ś. jāgrta*)
GRBH—: with *abhi* (*jigrahah*) 16.46,1; 10; 47, 1; 10; 48,1; 5
 grbhāti 3.22,2
grṣṭi 17.1,5; 4,11 a. elsewhere (*Ś. kṛṣṭi*); cf. *viśva°*
grhakapoti 20.19,8 female domestic dove
gonasi 8.7,2 snake
gopatiṣṭha 6.10,5 = *goṣṭha*
gobalinī 20.23,5 having (f.) the strength of an ox, bes. *sarasvatī*
gomatha 14.4,15 carrying off cows (*stena*)
govarcasa 8.10,5 splendour of the cow
goṣṭoma 5.16,8 n. of a rite
GLĀ—: with *vi* (*glāpay-*) 13.5,14
glau: Acc. *glāvam* 1.59,5 19.41,17

ghṛtabodhana 2.24,1 awakened by the *ghṛta* (Agni)
ghoracakṣu 17.14,6 having terrifying eyes (ep. of a female demon)

- catuḥkumbhā* or *-bhyā* 6.22,5 group of four vessels
caturgavāḥ 9.9,1 (pl.) four oxen
catuḥśarāva 9.21,4 made on four plates (ritual cake)
catuḥsrakti 16.41,1 having (f.) four edges (*śālā*)
candra 4.3,1 moon
candramatī 19.39, 2 f. ep. of a *kṛtyā*
candravarṇā 4.3,3 having (f.) a brilliant colour (*āpaḥ*)
candrābhirakṣita 1.112,3 protected by Candra (*rāṣṭra*), but prob. to read
ca indra°
carmavāsini 2.33,5 dressed (f.) in her skin (cow)
carmād 19.36,17 skin-eating
 CAL—: with *vi* (*°cācalat*, pple) 19.16,12 (object being: *bhūtā*) (*Ś. ava-*
cākaśat)
cāta 2.10,3 (*Ś. cīti*)
cārusaṃkāśin 20.28,10 of a handsome appearance
cāravadana 20.28,10 (for *cāru-va°*) handsome-faced
cārvāc 20.28,10 (for *cāru-vāc*) speaking nicely
cittapāvana 19.50,15 (Indra)
citrageṣa 10.4,3 having an excellent battle-cry
°cela 11.7,2; 16.119,10 and clothes cf. *ātma°*
celanāśini 7.13,7 destroying (f) clothes (demon)
 CYU—: with *ud* (*uc cicyuvuḥ*; object *śalyam*) 19.50,1;3; 20.30,1 to extract
 with *pra* (*mā pra cyoṣṭa*, said of *lohita*) 11.1,8 to flow out (of the veins)
 with *pra...ud* (*cicyuvuḥ*) 19.50,1 to extract
cyukākaṇi 5.3,4; 6; 7 8.16,5 n. or ep. of a plant

chandaspātra 16.135,5 vessel made of meters or songs
 CHĀ—: *chāhi* a. *chātaḥ* 16.64,5 to cut off (*Ś. psāhi* a. *psātaḥ*)
churādinī 17.14,10 f. ep. of a demon

jakṣivīpya 2.1,2 (meaning?) prob. a blunder for *Ś. jakṣivān sa*
jaṅgiṇa 2.11,2-4; 4.18,3 (*Ś. jaṅgiḍa*)
janavid 1.34,1; 35, 1 procuring or knowing men (Agni)
 JABH—: *jañjabhi* (imper. 2nd sg.) 20.38,2 *jañjābha* 1.45,3
janbhaka 8.7,3 ep. of a demon
janbhahanu 11.2,10 having yawning jaws
jayadvīra 19.49,15 having victorious men
°jayālu cf. *trṇa°*
jaradaṣṭi 3.39,2; 19.20,4 = *°aṣṭi*,
jarbhara cf. *vi°*
jala cf. *nir°* and *śīta°*
jalāṣabheṣajin 14.2,3 = *°bheṣaja* (ep. of Rudra)

JALP—: with *abhi* (°*jalpamāna*) 13.5,16
jalpa 4.24,5 talk, disputation, bes. *lapa* (*yo 'sti jalpaś ca lapaś ca*)
jātodaka 9.7,6 being provided with water (*hima*)
 JI—: *jīyāsam* (also with *vi*, *sam*) 19.53,13-15
jighāmsita 1.26,1 defeated
jihitvā (abs.) 19.31,7 having given up
jihmāyate 5.28,2 to be oblique (said of the *daṁṣṭrau*)
jīnas 8.15,4 (nt.) misery
 JŪ—: *ajāvayan* 9.7,1
jaivātrka 5.11,7 long-lived (*putra*)
 JÑĀ—: with *anu* (°*jñeṣma*) 3.38,9 (Ś. *prajñeṣam*)
 with *anu-pra* (°*jñeṣva*) 6.22,11
 with *vi* (°*jñāt*) 16.67,6 (Ś. °*jñāt*)
jñātivid 1.34,3; 35,3 procuring relations (*Pūṣan*)
jyogjīva 19.28,4 long-living
jyotiṣmant 5.6,10 n. of a kind of sun
 JVAL—: with *ava* (°*ajjvalan*) 20.56,2

TAK—: *takantīḥ* (f.pl.) 12.7,3 rushing (waters)

takvarīḥ (f.pl.) 12.7,3 id.

tagarī 20.25,10; 26,2 cf. TS. *takarī*

TAN—: with *vi* (°*tanvire*) 16.66,5 (Ś. *tatnire*)

 with *samā* (°*tanuṣva*) 16.92,6 (Ś. *samācinuṣva*)

tanti 4.40,1 string and cf. *vatsa*°

tanticara 5.16,7 going with a cord (*Rudra*)

TAP—: *tītapanta* 19.11,6 to consume (*māsmākaṁ vasūpa t°*)

 with *saṁ* (°*taptām*, du.) 8.15,13, but cf. in the same formula °*tapatūn*
 10,12,8

tapaskāra a. °*kṛt* 17.22,8; 9 ascetic

tapojiṣṇu 17.22,8 winning by ascese

taruṣayiṣṇu 1.45,2 overcoming (fever)

tāmiṣīci 1.7,4 (Ś. *ta*°)

tāmravarṇa 14.2,9 copper-coloured (*Rudra*)

tāvuca 8.2,9 (Ś. *tābuva*)

tītīla 9.6,12 n. of a kind of worm

tīkṣṇavalśa 7.7,7 having harsh branches

tīvradhvaṁsinī 20.18,10 violently destroying (f.), ep. of an unlucky mark

tīvrānta 7.6,7 strong at the end (*havis*)

turḍāyas 4.18,1 (meaning?)

TUD—: *totudyete* 2.87,4 (*todenāśvatarāv iva*)

turīyabhāj 13.5,18 sharer of a fourth

turya 1.10,3; 22, 3 (Ś. *turīya*)

- turyaja* 19.38,10 20.24,10 (*gardabhā iva turyajāḥ*)
tūli 19.34,6 broom (*yathā vr̥hiṃ vr̥hikhale samākurvanti tūlibhīḥ*)
ṭṛṇajayālu° 19.20,11 perh. a blunder for °*jalāyu* (*kā*)
ṭṛṇavatsā 14.1,17 giving (f.) herbs for the calves (waters)
ṭṛṭiyeka 1.32,5 4.24,1 20.57,8 a blunder for *ṭṛṭiyaka* (or -*ika*)
ṭṛpradaṃśman 20.13,9 whose bite is harsh, cf. Ś. *ṭṛṣṭadaṃśman*
ṭṛṣṭanandanā 20.16,1 rejoicing (f.) with a harsh [biting] (Ś. °*vandanā*)
TR—: with *pra* (... *tāriṣam*) 20.26,10.
 with *ati* (*taruṣva*) 2.89,1; 5 (object: *dviṣaḥ*) ā (*taruṣva*) 1.76,1 *tiryamāṇa*
 18.27,1 (Ś. *īyamāṇa*)
tejanī 16.26,1 (meaning?) (Ś. *cetanī*)
tepu or *tepus* 4.24,5 (meaning? verbal form?) cf. *māgu* (s)
taula 4.4,2 situated on the sacrificial ladle (Ś. *taila*)
TYAJ—: (a) *tyākṣam* 3.40,5 19.48,10
tyajana 3.40,1;3;4 19.48,11;12 expelling
trāman (Dat. -*maṇe*, with Acc.) 19.2,1 (for) saving
triparṇī 1.58,3 having (f.) three leaves (plant)
trimāsya 16.71,11 (nt.) duration of three months
triyāyuṣa 2.59,5 (Ś. *try*°)
trirātra 16.82,10 n. of a rite, cf. *ekarātra*, etc.
triṛokyā 17.14,3 having (f.) a triple abode (demon)
triṣarāva 9.21,3 made on three plates (ritual cake)
tryaṅga 20.26,1 having three members (*garbha*)

daṃśavīrya 6.14,3 whose force consists in biting (demon)
 °*daṃśman* cf. *ṭṛpra*°
daṃṣṭrin 19.8,12 made of tusks (*vadha*)
dakṣamāṇa (nt.) 16.47,6 (*dakṣaś ca dakṣamāṇam ca*)
dakṣiṇāsad or *dakṣiṇātsad* 2.53,2; 54,1 sitting in the South (gods), cf. *antarik-*
 ṣātsad (etc.), *ibid.*
 °*dambha* cf. *samādhi*°
daśajihva 3.17,2 9.3,2 having ten tongues
daśarātra 8.19,8 9.3,3 (n. of a rite)
daśaśarāva 9.21,10 made on ten plates (ritual cake)
dānvojas 15.1,8 (*kṣatra*)
dārā 9.16,3 wife (*dīvo dārām*) 19.41,5
dārupātra 16.135,4; 6 vessel of wood
dālbhya 9.10,4 (meaning?) ep. of a *viṣa*
dāsya 19.50,13 (*varṇa*, *ārya*) bes.
digdhaviddha 9.8,8; 9,6 pierced by a poisoned substance
didhiṣūpati 1.70,5 9.22,18 husband of a remarried widow
dīnodāra 19.24,15 vapour in day-time

- divimātra* 16.96,7 having the dimension of the sky
DIŚ—: with *abhi-anu* (°*deṣṭu*) 5.11,5; 9 to point back (*vātuḥ* ... *putram* a° *te*)
diha 13.9,7 smearing
dīrghamātra 8.19,8 = °*sattra*
DĪV—: *didivire* 1.72,1
dīva 1.49,2 playing
dudvan, f. -*vatī* 1.86,5 (meaning ?) (*dudvā* ca *dudvatī* ca *sṭha*)
durabhagnā 17.16,4 (meaning ?) (Ś. *duradabhnā*)
duriṣṭā 1.88,3 (Ś. *duriṣṭi*)
durjīvata 4.15,5 5.23,7 (Ś. *daurjīvitya*)
durveda 11.5,7 difficult to be found
DUṢ—: *dūṣay-* (med.) 4.21,7 to be spoiled
duḥsvapna 1.99,1 = -*ya*
DUH—: *dhokṣ(y)amāṇa* 5.31,1 7.15,9
 °*duhmā* cf. *ati*°
DR—: with *apa* (*dṛṇa*) 15.4,1 (Ś *api śṛṇa*)
DRŚ—: *dadṛśyām* 17.39,3 (Ś. *dadṛśrām*); id. 19.51,7
devakanyā 1.100,1 god-girl
devatalpa 13.12,10; 14,11 couch of the gods
devapariṣṭhita 11.1,1 fixed by the gods
devaputrā 3.23,3 having (f.) gods as sons (*Aditi*)
devayātu 20.42,3 sorcerer in form of a god
devayoni 14.3,16 birth-place of a god
devaraghnī 20.20,4 killing (f.) her husband's brother and cf. a°
devarākṣasa 19.37,12 god-demon
devasaṃhita 16.96,7 composed by the god
daidhiṣavya 1.70,1; 2 son of a *didhiṣū*
daiva 15.14,6 (pl.) those born of gods
doṣaṇiṣṭṛs 2.90,3 clinging to the arm
dohyā 9.16,1 fit (f.) to be milked (*dhenu*)
daurbhūti 5.26,3 = *dur*°
dyutta 10.12,1 given by the heaven (*āyus*)
dyotayamānaka 13.4,14 making light (*Gandharvas*)
DRUH—: with *abhi* (°*drukṣat*) 10.11,10
dvādaśaśarāva 9.21,12 made on twelve plates (ritual cake)
dvādaśāha 8.19,8 n. of a rite
dvirātramātra 16.71,10 consisting only in two days
dviśataprṣṭha 5.10,1 (meaning ?)
dviśarāva 9.21,2 made on two plates (ritual cake)

dviśīrṣa 2.14,2 having two heads (*krimi*)
dvaiyātman 18.26,1 having a double soul
dvayailaba 17.5,1 (Ś. *vyailaba*)

dhanāyu 11.2,11 desiring richness, bes. *sanāyu*
dhanuttvya 15.12,11 bow-case
 DHANV—: with *pra* (°*dhanvatī*) 16.12,3 growing (f.) out (plant)
dhayantikā 4.19,6 9.10,8 sucking (f.) (*śakuntikā*)
dhartṛi 6.4,2 sustainer (f.) (*oṣadhi*) (Ś. *bhartrī*)
dhārābhiṣikta 9.22,14 continuously sprinkled
dhiṣṇyā 2.4,1 f. ep. of a *sadānvā* (Ś. *dhṛṣṇu*)
 DHĪ—: with *anu* (*dādhyāthām*) 2.5,5 to attend after
dhvāṅkṣa 7.2,8 n. of a kind of *krimi*
dhṛtiyoga 19.36,9 apt to be held (*aśva iva dhṛtiyogaḥ*)
dhṛṣṇya 13.12,11 (Agni), a blunder for *dhiṣṇya*
dhṛājin(a) 13.6,13 (Ś. *hrāduni*)
dhvajinī 14.1,11 having (f.) an emblem (*dhenu*)
dhvāṅkṣya 20.27,10 = *dhvāṅkṣa*

nakrahu 5.10,3 (meaning ?)
nakhogra 6.14,3 terrible by his nails (demon)
nandasodara 2.85,1 (meaning ?)
 NABH—: with *ud* (*nambhaya*) 20.7,3 to cause to burst (Ś. *pra nabhasva*)
navayāman 9.21,9 having nine ways (god)
navasārāva 9.21,9 made on nine plates (ritual cake)
nākapṛṣṭhā 13.5,19 whose (f.) back goes to the sky (*vaśā*)
nākula 1.64,3 = *na*°
nādana 20.45,1 roaring
nānārogabheṣaja 19.30,8 remedy against diverse diseases
nāradavant 20.45,2 n. pr.
 NIMŚ—: *nimśita* 8.15,5 (*na śayīta na n*°)
 NIJ—: *ninejmi* 19.14,9 *nikṣata* 5.9,8 (Ś. *nahyata*)
nitatni 20.37,4; 5 n. of a plant, cf. -*nī* Ś.
nitunni 7.5,6-7 piercing
nīpatana 4.20,1 abiding-place
nīyakṣaka 1.112,5 (meaning ?)
nīrakṣas 10.4,2 protector
nīraṅkuśa 20.52,3 unimpeded (*nadinām ca nīraṅkuśam*)
nīrādṛta 1.93,4 extracted from (with Abl.) (plant)
nīrūḍhapāka 20.38,8 (meaning ?)
nīrjanitrī 4.14,1 (meaning ?)
nīrjala 9.18,3 dry (*dhanus*)

- nirbādhapraṇutta* 3.3,7 thrust forth by that which keeps off (Ś. *vaibādhū°*)
nirbhinnaśiṛṣan 5.10,8 with broken head
nirmantray- (med.) 4.22,4 expelled by a mantra
nirviṣa 3.9,6 free from poison
nirvīta 3.16,4 unpleasant (*ahi*)
niveṣṭana 19.38,11;12 covering
niṣaṅgati 14.2,15 (VS. *niṣaṅgadhi*)
niṣkakaṇṭha 12.7,13 having an ornament round the neck
°niṣkarī cf. *aṅga°*
niṣkūṭa 20.52,3 free from deceit
niṣṛṣṭa 20.49,8 sent forth
Nī-: with *sam-ava* (*°anayat*) 20.61,11 to lead together
nīlagrīvā 1.59,4 blue-necked (f.)
nīlayant 16.151,2 growing dark-blue
nīlavatī 2.64,2 f. ep. of a *kṛtyā*
nīlavyakta 15.19,7 (nt. pl.) blue marks
nīlāśikhaṇḍin 19.14,13 having black tufts (Rudra-Śarva)
NUD-: with *abhi-nis* (*nudantu*) 20.42,1
nuh 3.33,6 hater (Ś. *nih*)
nṛ: Gen. pl. *nṛṇām* 2.10,4
NRT-: with *upa* (*°nṛtyathah*) 15.18,7 to dance about
nairaya 5.36,1 proper to the hell (*pāśa*), perh. a blunder for *nairṛtya* (19.23,6)

- pakvāroha* 16.93,1-10; 94,1-7; 95,1-9 (meaning? ep. of *odana*)
pañcamāyukha 2.87,5 having five pegs
pañcamūrdhan 9.21,5 having five heads (Vaiśvānara)
pañcaśarāva 9.21,5 made on five plates (ritual cake)
paṭara 5.6,10 n. of a kind of sun
pataṅga 5.6,10 id.
pativaṃśya 8.10,10 (pl.) belonging to a husband's family
pativahā 7.12,5 (meaning?)
patyā 4.10,2; 3; 6 dominion
pathayiṣṇu 8.8,2 9.8,1 (*lāṅgala* of the Aśvins) a blunder for *patay°*
PAD-: *pedima* 9.22,11
 with *adhi* (*°pede*) 19.51,3 (object: *vrataṃ*)
papritama 16.70,2 most saving
payasphāti 3.22,3 absence of milk, cf. Ś. 19.31,10
paraśumant 5.3,6 a man with an axe
parāvāsa 11.7,5 = *parāyaṇa*
parāskandā 19.32,11 repelling (*ākhu*)
parikṣapa 20.46,1 (Ś. *°kṣava*)

- paricakrā* 16.41,1 f. ep. of a house
paricit 12.7,11 (meaning ?) ep. of the waters
parijambhana 19.47,1; 2 destroying
parināti 19.52,4 leading round
paridigdha 2.31,6 smeared over
paribhakṣita 9.22,18 consumed
paribhava or °bhū 9.23,15 governing (deity)
parimūrdhanyā 19.18,4 (f.) (*dhamani*, pl.)
pariyukta 5.25,2 bespoken by (*brāhmaṇena p°*)
parirapaṇa 7.19,2 evil talk, cf. 7.9,2; 3
parivācana 19.30,8 (meaning ?), bes. *bheṣaja*
parivṛkṣu 7.2,8 (meaning ?) ep. of *krimi*
pariṣṭabhita 5.11,3 fixed
parisravaṇa 8.12,11 flowing around (waters)
parīvāpa 20.12,10 n. of an oblation
paretayātu 20.42,6 sorcerer in the form of a dead man
parepara 4.24,1 n. of a kind of fever (= *anyedyuh*)
parśu 2.84,5 f. pl.
palālin 9.11,12 (meaning ?) ep. of *yava*
PAŚ—: with *abhi-ni* (°*paśyati*) 19.45,3
 with *abhi-vi* (°*paśyatī*) 9.16,4
paścātsad 2.53,3; 54,2 sitting in the West (gods)
PĀ— (to protect): *pāpāta* (2nd pl.) 7.3,9
pākapātra 5.13,3 vessel for cooking
pādaghātini 7.13,5 striking (f.) with the feet (demon)
pāpanāśakā 20.46,2 destroying (f) evil
pāpalakṣmī 20.17,7 having (f.) evil mark (Voc. -i)
pitṛdevatya 16.120, 2 having the fathers for deities
pitṛbhojana 8.3,2 nourishing the fathers
pitṛśadya 16.149,8 (meaning ?)
pitṛśuta 9.13,4 (Ś. °*krta*)
pitṛhan 9.22,7 19.46,14 killing (his) father
 °*piṭsala* 19.51,12 (meaning ?) (Ś. °*satsaru*)
pipṛla 7.19,8 n. of a fruit
piba 5.33,8 beverage (as internal object to *sampibāmi*)
piśaṅgabāhū 5.1,1 having (f.) reddish arms (plant)
piśācajambhana 2.46,1 7.19,10 destroying the *piśācas*
pīvaspāka 2.1,2 (Ś. °*sphāka*)
pūṃsavana 5.11,2 producing a male
puñjiṣṭha 5.3,5 nt. pl. (meaning ?)
putthagī 8.16 (passim) 20.47,8; 9 n. of a plant
putravedana 5.11,2 means of finding a son

- putrinā* 5.37,5 having (f.) a child
punaścārā 5.23,2 f. ep. of a plant
pur 16.61,9; 10 body
purudr̥ṣṭa 5.3,1 seen by many (*sūrya*)
puruṣabheṣaja 20.54,9 remedy for men
puruṣareṣinī 20.50,7 hurting (f.) men (*ārti*)
puṣkaraparnāpātra 16.135,7 vessel made of a lotus-leaf
puṣkalā 1.11,3 (Ś. *biṣkalā*)
puṣtipati 1.18,4 5.27,4 10.5,6; 11 19.22,15 20.9,5 lord of prosperity (*puṣṭasya*
puṣtip°) (Ś. *puṣṭapati*)
pūrvapadya 3.16,5 n. of a poison
pūtay— (med.) 9.23,20 is purified
ṛtanāvṛṣṇi 3.27,1 strong in battle
ṛtanāsāhya 6.9,12 (pl.) victories in battle
ṛthivīkṣit 9.6,6 dwelling on the earth
ṛthivīpātra 16.135,2 vessel of earth
ṛṣṇa (or *ṛṣṭa*) 2.16,4; 5 (Ś. *prāś*)
°ṛṣṭi cf. *sahasra°*
peśi 20.55,1 (meaning ?)
peśinī 16.59,1 (Ś. *peśanī*)
peśyavatī 2.64,2 having (f) variegated colours (*kṛtyā*)
paśā, paśi 20.55,1 (meaning ?)
pautudruva 19.50,4; 6 coming from the *pūtudru*-tree (*maṇi*)
pautrasadya 2.67,5 (meaning ?) (*daurbhagya*)
pauruṣa 1.59,3 2.12,3; 32,4 3.32,5 16.59-61 (passim) a. elsewhere (Ś. *pūruṣa*);
cf. also *ati° bahu° sarva° saha°*
pauṣkala 9.22,9 a kind of food
PYĀ—: *pyāyet* 3.25,2 (*lokam ... pyāyet pavamānaḥ*)
praghātini 17.15,3 killing (f.) (*sadānvā*)
pracātani 19.39,11 destructive (f.) (plant)
prachedana 7.5,12 killer (of enemies) (*maṇi*)
°prajāna cf. *sindhu°* a. *kārṣṇaṇa°*
prajāpihata 5.37,1 excluded from pregnancy (*yoni*)
pratad 1.46,1-2 (with *dirgham āyuh*), cf. RV. *pratadvasu*
pratighātin 3.27,1 repelling attacks
praticakṣinī 3.22,2; 3 watching over (f.) (plant)
pratipravādin 20.21,7 speaking against (*dviṣant*)
pratirandhanī 3.29,2 f. ep. of a plant (Ś. *°nandana*)
pratiṣṭhāman 7.11,8 (meaning ?)
pratispaśa 6.12,8 spy
pratibodha 1.47,3; 76,4 watchful against
pratīvāha 17.29,7 reward

pratyagvadha 10.12,9; 10 having means of killing against (bes. *praty uj jahi bhrātrvyān*)

pratyōsantī 20.18,8 f. ep. of an unlucky mark; 13.10,9 (*tanvo yās te agne*)

pradugdha 6.15,7 milked

prapīna 5.40,5 (a. °*pīnā* f.) 9.16,3 flourishing

prapautra 5.40,5 6.22,11 great grand-son

prapharvan 19.2,12 progress (*vātasya prapharvaṇi*)

prabandhinī 13.4,3 n. of an Apsaras (Ś. °*mandinī*)

prabhāñjana 3.40,2 breaking

pramāyuka 16.120,1 liable to perish (cf. *apra° Ś.*)

prayacha 16.47,1 advance (*yachaś ca prayachaś caiti*)

prayat 9.1,4 (Loc. pl. *prayatsu*) proffering (Ś. *prayakṣu*)

prayatīṣin 6.14,9 offering-seeking

prayā 4.34,2 progress (Ś. *prāya*)

pralāya 5.32,4 (*yah pralāyaṃ carati* who goes hiddenly)

pralodinī 17.13,5 (meaning ?) f. ep. of a *sadānvā*

pravavri 16.47,8 (meaning ?) (*urvī cāsi pravavriś cāsi*)

pravasu 16.46,9 eminent (*vasuś ca pravasuś ca*)

pravāta (Loc. -e) 18.26,3 windy weather

pravāvada 9.4,4 prattling (*putra*)

praviṣṭavant 11.5,12 (as an equivalent to a verbal form)

pravṛkṣa 16.146,9 cut off

praśravaṇa 9.24,9 herald (Ś. *pravada*)

praskadvarī 12.7,2 gushing forth (f.) (waters), bes. *praskandanti*

prastareṣṭhā 20.34,2 situated on the strewn couch (gods)

prahiteṣu 3.10,3 having an arrow hurled at (*devī*)

prāñcamukha 14.1,15 facing eastwards (*yajña*)

prānadattā 7.15,2 given (f.) with the life-breath

prāṇabhṛt 4.13,3 supporting life-breath

prāṇāpānavyānāḥ 9.21,7 three kinds of breath

prātaḥsavana 16.116,6 early soma-pressing

prāśa 5.23,3 act of eating (*rasasya prāśā*)

priyaṃkaraṇa 3.28,5; 6 delight-making

preman (msc.) 19.34,9 love

prauḍham 16.73,4 magnificently

phalākr—: 17.15,2 (°*kuru*) to thresh (grains)

phalākrta 16.124, 2; 3 threshed (grains)

phalgumaṇi 19.31,8 small amulet

phālay—: 16.14,1 make sb. have benefit of (Ś *pāyay*-)

- bandhaneṣṭha* 4.20,6 captive
babhruka 1.44,4 ep. of a *nakula*
babhruvakṣas 1.45,1 having a brown breast
bastagandhā 17.12,6 having (f.) the odour of the goat (*sadānvā*)
bahukāra 8.18,8 making much
bahukumāra 10.4,9 having many boys
bahudhānya 8.18,6 rich in grains
bahupauruṣa 8.18,6 19.48,1 rich in men
bahubhāṣya 19.49,7 (meaning ?)
bahulamadhyama 7.6,7 thick in the middle (*havis*)
bahūpahūta 19.50,13 much invoked (*vajra*)
bahvīkṛta 15.15,7 (meaning ?)
bāhika 9.7,5 connected with the Bāhikas (*rapas*)
bāhuśūvarī 20.10,11 a blunder for Ś. a. RV. *bahusūvarī*
budhnaloka 17.29,7 whose world is in the depth
brhadvadā 7.12,7 high speaking (f.) (plant)
brhaspatinetra 2.53,6 conducted by Brhaspati (gods)
baindhaka 9.10,4 ep. of *viṣa*
brahmakāra a. °*kṛt* 17.22,10; 11 prayer-maker
brahmajiṣṇu 17.22,10 winning by prayer
brahmayātu 20.42,5 sorcerer in form of a brahman
brāhmaṇa 17.29,13 (nt.) n. of a kind of text (*ṛcaḥ sāmāni yajūṃḥ*
brāhmaṇam)
brahmanakilbiṣa 8.15,7 sin against a brahman
brāhmanavarcaśin 9.21,3 having the splendour of the brāhmaṇa (nt.)
brāhmanyā 16.52,1 fit (f.) for a brahman (*samdhā*)

bhaktivān 19.16,19 : n. pl. -*vānaḥ* (Ś. -*vāmsaḥ*)
bhagabhaktā 2.66,2 bes. *bhagavatī*
BHAJ—: with *niḥ* (°*bhākṣit*) 19.46,6
bhavabhāma 14.2,4 having the splendour of Bhava (Rudra)
bhavamanyu 14.2,4 having the wrath of Bhava (Rudra)
bhavaheti 2.85,4 7.15,1 Bhava's arrow
BHĀM—: *mā te manyuḥ* ... *bhāmet* 3.10,6
BHID—: *abhaitsam* 9.6,6 *bhinta* 3.31,1-5
with *ni* (*bhinadmi*) 2.84,1-10
bhinnaśiras 1.87,1 whose head is crushed (*krimi*)
bhiṣaj : *bhiṣajāti* 2.10,2 *bhiṣajyatu* 2.80,5
bhīmahasta 6.14,3 having formidable hands (demon)
BHŪ—: *bhavatāt-tamām* (adv.) 14.3,11
bhavitā (fut.) 9.18,4
with *adhi-sam* (°*babhūva*) 19.28,13 (to read *abhi-sam*)

bhūmaneṣṭhā 5.2,1 (Ś. *bhuvane*°)
bhūripuṣṭā 20.2,7 much flourishing (f.)
bhūlī 2.91,1 f. ep. of a demon
bheya 5.21,8 to be afraid of
bhauma 15.14,3 (a. elsewhere) earth, a. cf. *sa*°
bhauman 6.15,1 10.5,4; 8 11.6,7 (a. elsewhere) abundance (= *bhūman*)
bhraṣṭākṣa 6.14,3 having fallen eyes (demon)
bhrāja 5.6,10 n. of a kind of sun
bhrātṛvyajambhana 2.46,5 destroying the rivals
BHRĪ—: *bhrīyamāṇa* 4.14,7 (meaning ?) *bebhrīyamāṇa* 5.22,6 ep. of ṛṣi
bhrūṇahatyā 16.149,6 killing of an embryo
bhrūṇahan 3.16,3 9.22,7 embryo-killer

MAJJ—: with *sam* (°*majjase*) 19.49,6
madita 6.15,7 gladdened
madhavāna (or *madhuvāna* ?) 5.12,1; 2; 8 ep. of a plant
madhujā 16.33,8 born from honey (*madhu*)
madhupati 13.14,13 lord of *madhu*
madhupāvan 9.8,5 honey-drinker (*vṛka*)
madhupraśāmana 19.38,17 appeasing with honey (Bhaga)
madhupruṣ 13.14,13 honey-sprinkling
madhumadudyamā 6.6,1 whose (f.) effort is towards honey (*vācā*)
madhuvarṇa 2.79,4 19.38,17 honey-coloured
madhuvādinī 1.55,3 4.22,5 19.43,1 honey-speaking (f.) (*jihvā*)
madhuvrata 19.38,17 having honey for his vow
madhusaṃsṛavā 4.22,5 honey-flowing (f.) (*jihvā*)
madhukasta 19.29,9; 38,17 having a hand of honey
madhyanya 9.6,2 having a middle rank
manā 2.87,1 n. pr.
manuṣyarākṣasa 19.37,12 demon in human form
manomuṣi 19.29,7 stealer of the mind
°*mandi* cf. *sahasrapoṣa*°
maṛiṣyaja 19.42,16; 17 (meaning ?)
marudgaṇa 8.12,1 having the Maruts for attendants (gods)
marudyuta 1.85,2-3 a kind of mental disease
maruṇnetra 2.53,3 conducted by the Maruts (gods)
mahākāṇṭha 6.14,1 having a big throat (demon)
mahājana 1.72,1 (pl.) multitude of men
mahājhaka 1.98,3 (meaning ?)
mahānakṣatra 19.24,19 (pl. nt.) great asterisms
mahāpatha 19.36,14 high way
mahābhārati 9.1,9, bes. *sarasvatī* (Ś. *bhārati* only)

mahārukma 15.18,2 rich (f.) in ornaments
mahāśarman 20.1,6 affording great protection (*diteḥ putrāḥ*)
mahīyoni 9.11,13 womb of the earth
mahīlōkā 16.107,6 (Ś. *mahīlukā*)
mahodara 12.3,1 big-bellied (*rāśi*)
māmsalā 17.13,10 fleshy (f.) (plant)
mākṣika 8.18,8 (msc.) honey
māgu or *māgus* 4.24,5 (meaning ?) (*māguś ca tepuś ca*)
mātrhan 9.22,7 19.46,14 killing (his) mother
mānava 1.99,4 (*manoś ca mānavasya ca*)
mānuṣyavardhanā 8.11,1 increasing (f.) men (*vedi*)
mālvya 15.19,1 foolishness
 °*muṣi* cf. *mano*°

musalāhata 5.10,1 hit by the mace
 MUH—: *amomuhan* 19.38,13
mūradevin 7.11,3; 19,2 ep. of the *kravyāds* = °*deva*
mūrchā 3.40,2 mental stupefaction
mūladāyā 17.15,8 f. ep. of a *sadānvā*
mūlī 2.91,1 f. ep. of a demon
 MR(N)—: with *pari* (°*mṛṇant*) 18.28,2 (*pramṛṇant* Ś.)
 MRD—: *mṛdāyīṣyati* 5.21,7
mṛṣaka 16.80,3 (Ś. *makaka*)
mṛsmṛsā-kṛ- 1.29,3 (Ś. *maṣmaṣā-*) cf. MS. *mṛsmṛsā-*
mekṣa 3.38,2 stirring stick
meḍu 16.82,5 sounding of the *sāman* (Ś. *meḍi*)
methiṣṭhā 5.3,8 (meaning ?) ep. of Agni
menihan 2.51.1-5 destroyer of the evil called *meni* (Agni)
maitra 16.46,6 friendship (*mitraṃ ca maitraṃ ca*)
moghacārin 5.3,5 going in vain (serpent)
maulivarna 1.37,3 diadem-coloured
 MLĀ—: *mlāyantu* 13.3,12 (rivals)

yacha 16.47,1 (meaning ?) cf. *prayacha*
 YAM—: *yamsatī* 20.18,9 f. ep. of an unlucky mark
yamanetra 2.53,2 conducted by Yama (gods)
yavamaya 19.39,4 consisting of barley (*havis*)
yavāṣa 7.2,8 (Ś. *yevāṣa*)
 YĀ—: *yayātu* 9.16,3
 with *ati* (*yāpayati*) 16.75,7 to move (object: *antrā*), to cause diarrhoea
 with *anusampra* (°*yāhi*) 16.92,6
yātudhānajambhana 19.31,3 destroyer of sorcerers

yevāṣū-yevāṣāḥ (with *piṣṭāḥ*) 19.29,4 (Ś. *yevāṣāsaḥ* only)
yopsin 5.16,4 hurtful (*yakṣma*)

rakṣitṛi 10.16,2-5 protectress

rakṣoghñi 3.22,2;3 6.8.3 demon-killing (f.) (plant)

rakṣonāśanī 16.12,10 destroying (f.) demons (plant)

raṇaṇraṇam 6.1,4, cf. RV. *raṇeraṇe*

rathajūta 15.3,3 (Ś. °jūti)

rathasṛt 13.10,1 car-winning (Agni)

RANDH—: *randhayādhvai* 9.4,7

rīradhāsi 20.12,4 (with Acc. and Dat.)

RAM—: *arīramam* 20.33,4

ramahārī 2.91,4 pleasure-destroying (f.) (demon)

rayipoṣaṇa 2.67,3 prosperity

rasabhañjanī 17.14,3 f. ep. of a demon

rājaratha 2.34,2 king's car

rājasava 10.9,8 soma-pressing for a king, bes. *brahmasava*

°*rātra*, cf. *tri*° *daśa*° *śata*°

RĀDH—: with *vi* (*arātsīḥ*) 6.11,6

rāśivāhana 8.11,3 carrying a mass (*anaḍvāḥ*)

RIH—: with *prati* (°*reḍhi*) 7.19,5 (object: *yonim*)

RĪ—: *rāyanti* or *rayanti* 15.19,8 (*yāḥ* [Apsaras's] *antarikṣe r*°)

RUC—: *rociṣīya* 18.32,5 (Ś. *ruci*°)

rucita 15.21,7 brilliant (*citta*)

rujita 16.146,9 broken

rurī 6.3,8 hot (f.)

RUṢ—: with *adhi* 19.36,8 *yo no 'dhiruṣān manasā*

RUH—: with *adhi* (°*arukṣata*) 20.56,1 (*rukṣat*) 16.150,10

with *ava* (°*arukṣat*) 14.2,2

with *pari* (°*ropaya*) 5.10,10 to remove

rejma 5.19,7 (msc.) quaking

revattva 6.3,6 (*revattvaṃ revatīnām*)

reṣiṇī 3.39,3 injuring (f.) and cf. *puruṣa*°

rogasthāna 20.54,3 place of disease

rodha 5.22,3 arrow

ropayīṣṇu 5.28,2 lacerating (*daṃṣṭra*)

ropi cf. *aropi*

roha(s) a. *rohat* 16.46,10 (meaning ?) (*rohaś ca rohaś caiti*)

rohinī 4.15,4 (Ś. *rohanī*)

lapa 4.24,5 talk, cf. *jalpa*

LABH—: *lipsāmi* 5.34,2

- with *abhi* (°*lipsamāna*) 16.50,3 (Ś. *upali*°)
 with *ud*, cf. *ullabdha* s.v.
lambanastani 10.1,1 having (f.) falling udders (*dhenu*)
lāṅgūlagrhya 9.8,1 seizing by the tail
LIP—: with *upa* (*limpatu*) 2.81,2 to besmear
Lī—: with *ni* (*layanti*) 9.25,16 to disappear (said of leaves)
LŪ—: with *ni* (*laviṣyate*) 20.47,9 to cut off, cf. 8.16,7
LUP—: with *apa* (*lumpatu*) 5.14,1
leha 13.9,7 licking
lokaṇitya 6.22,8 fit to win the world
lokinī 16.47,9 possessing (f.) the world (*l*° *cāsi lokakṛc cāsi*)
lopya 19.49,6 to be broken
loṣṭābhṛt 5.36,8 clod-bearer
lohitavṛkṣa 20.51,8 red tree
- VAKS*—: with *ati* (*vakṣam*) 19.31,1 to grow over
vakṣa cf. *śiti*°
vakṣomūlā 17.12,1 (meaning ?)
vaghaṭ 16.14,3 (meaning ?) (Ś. *raghaṭ*)
vatsatanti 5.1,2 rope for calves
vatsara 16.72,1 year
VAD—: *vaday-* 20.1,1 (*manasā ye 'vādayann ṛtāni*)
VAN—: *vānay-* 19.26,10 to seek to win over (object: *gām*)
 with *sam* (*avīvanam*) 19.19,6 (*avīvanan*) 19.19,7
vanana 20.61,11 desire
vanugdhya 4.7,4 (Ś. *vaniṣṭhu*)
VAP—: with *niḥ* (*vapati*) 5.40,1 9.21 a. 22 (passim) 16.70; 93; 94; 95
 (passim); 111, 14; 118 a. 119 (passim) in ritual meaning
 nirupya 16.119
 with *anu-niḥ* 9.21 (passim) 16.119
 with *vi* 16.120,2 (ritual meaning)
vapsati a. *vapsā* 16.46,9 (meaning ?) (*vapsā cāsi vapsatis cāsi*)
varuṇaprasūta 6.3,13 incited by Varuṇa (waters)
varṣajūtā 9.3,9; 13 impelled (f.) by rains (plant)
valagahan 2.51,1-5 killer of Valaga (Agni)
valīka 5.9,6 reed
valgin 5.11,1 (meaning ?)
valmī 19.49,5 ant
VAS— (to shine): with *apa* (*apochantī*) 1.99,1 driving off (f.) with brightness (object: *duḥsvapnam*)
VAS— (to dwell): with *apa* (°*vāsyamāna*) 13.5,16
VĀ—: with *abhi* (°*vāta*) 20.33,1 (*śam mā vāto 'bhivātaḥ*)

- with *ud* 19.41,2 to rise (wind)
 with *ny-ā* 20.61,4; 10 to blow hitherward (wind)
vācīkāra 14.2,3 prob. a blunder for *vātī*^o
vātakā 1.86,6 n. of a plant
vātaplavā 7.12,6 floating (f.) by the wind (*pāṭā*)
vātamejayā 17.15,10 f. ep. of a *sadānvā*
vātaratha 7.13,5 car of the wind
vātaroha 5.34,9 growing with the wind (*ratha*)
vātāpavamānau 10.13,2 17.26,2 (du.) Vāta and Pavamāna
vātīkṛtabheṣajī 19.31,12 used (f.) as a remedy against *vāta* (plant)
vāmasuvā (or *°sū*) 20.18,10 arousing (f.) unfavourable [things] (unlucky mark)
vārivāha 20.49,9 current of water
vāsantī 2.58,2 vernal (f. pl.) (*samāh*)
vāsamatha 14.4,15 tearing off clothes (thief), cf. RV. *vāstramathi*
vāhāśva 5.25,5 (meaning ?)
vikumbhā 7.13,7 f. ep. of a demon
vikusika 17.31,4 (Ś. *vikasuka*)
vikleda 4.24,6 moisture
vicṛtya cf. *avi*^o
 VICH—: with *pra* (*°avichāyat*) 6.3,1 prest forth, brought out
viṣambha (or *°jṛmbha* ?) 11.2,3 a kind of disease (*viśarasya viṣambhasya*)
viṣarbhara 20.45,1 (meaning ?)
viṣavarā 17.15,10 f. ep. of a *sadānvā*
viṣiti 19.53,14 conquest
viṣeṣa 5.23,1 conquest (Ś. *ujjeṣa*)
viṣṇa 19.47,9 (*go*)
viṣya 14.2,15 stringless (arrow)
viṣṭīṇikā 17.13,5 a kind of demon
vitāntrī 3.29,2 having (f.) diverse powers (plant)
vitti 16.46,8 acquisition (*vittiś ca suvittiś caiti*)
 VID— (to know): *vivitsamāna* 4.20,7 *vividāmahe* 19.21,6
vidalā cf. *avi*^o
vidhumadhyam 16.52,2 in the middle of the moon
vidhulaka 2.58,5 cf. *vidhura*
vinirṇejana 5.13,5 (nt. pl.) washing waters
vindat 16.47,3 (meaning ?) (*vindac ca suvidānaṃ caiti*)
vipalāy— (med.) 20.52,13
vibarhaṇa 19.28,15 ep. of a disease
vibhāsa 5.6,10 n. of a kind of sun
vibhītaka 19.32,9 n. of a tree; cf. *°bhīdaka*, *ibid.* 8 (*vibhinattu vibhītakah*)
vimokya cf. *avi*^o

- vīyoni* 20.26,4 being outside the vulva
virāj 3.11,3 (pl.) n. of gods (Ś. *vairāja*)
virohita 14.2,9 = *vilohita*
viliṣṭa cf. *avi*^o
viliṣṭabheṣaja 20.25,8 (meaning ?)
vivagdhin 19.32,10 (*vivagdhiva samānaḥ*)
viśalya 14.2,15 pointless (arrow) 16.75,10 n. of a disease
viśalyaka 16.74,5 (Ś. *visa*^o)
viśākha 5.24,4 (Ś. °*śikha*)
viśāliya 16.135,8 (Ś. *vaiśāleya*)
viśvagrṣṭi 5.6,7 = °*krṣṭi* (cf. 19.43,10)
viśvadāniyāvan 17.21,2 going everywhere (gods)
viśvadrś 3.25,4 all-seeing
viśvabhogā 5.28,9 having (f.) all enjoyments (*śālā*)
viśvāmarut 2.37,1 (pl.) accompanied by all the Maruts
viśvāvasu 9.20,11 (nt. sg.) all good [things]
viśadantī 5.9,8 having (f.) poisoned teeth
viśabha 3.7,2 (Ś. *viśapha*)
viśapuṣpa 4.19,6 9.10,8 poisoned flower
viśamitā 16.120,7 disarranged (f.) (*kumbhī*)
viśitastuka 19.14,4 (Ś. °*stupa*)
viśkambha 20.26,5-6 prop (fig.)
viśvagrīvā 2.36,5 n. of a kind of wind
visalpa 16.75,10 20.56,6 = *visalpaka*
visalpaka 1.90,1 19.28,15 20.37,1; 56,9 (also °*śalpaka*) (Ś. *visalyaka*)
vihvarita 3.40,6 staggered
°*vihvṛt* cf. *avi*^o
vihvṛta 20.13,8 staggered
vihvṛti 19.1,16 (Ś. *abhihruti*)
vīḍubhṛt 1.47,3; 76, 4 bearer of fierce [things]
vīraśrī 6.3,7 (meaning ?) ep. of waters
VR— (to cover): with *abhi* (*vavāra*) 1.23,4 (Ś. *abhivāra*)
°*vṛkṣu* cf. *pari*^o
vṛjana 2.5,6 (Ś. *vṛjina*)
vṛtramjaya 19.34,14 conqueror of *Vṛtra* (Indra)
vṛddhagarbhā 11.1,7 advanced (f.) in pregnancy
vṛddhabala 4.18,1 whose strength has grown
vṛddhavrṣṇya 15.1,4 whose strength has grown (*kṣatra*)
vṛdhra 7.3,11 (meaning ?) (*yo garbhe antar yo vṛdhre antaḥ*)
VRŚC—: *vraścīḥ* 5.3,6
vṛścikajambhana 19.47,1-3 destroyer of scorpions
VRŚ—: with *abhi* (*vivṛṣat*) 8.18,2 (*parjanyaḥ*)

- vṛṣākhyā* 15.23,1 n. of an Asura
vemana 20.61,3 (meaning ?)
vaidyuta 15.23,13 flashing
vaibhātaka 1.72,2 20.22,7 coming from the *vibhātaka* (*vaibhātakasya phalam*)
vaira 1.56,2 (Ś. *vīra*)
vairahatya 3.23,2 murder of men, cf. Ś. *avaira*^o
vairocana 16.135,1 (Ś. *virocana*)
vaiśya 3.13,8 9.16,7 n. of a caste (bes. *rājan*)
 VYAJ—: *vivijmi* 20.36,1 a blunder for *vivyajmi* (*viśvaṃ v^o prthivīva puṣṭam*) to expand; *vivyajmi* 2.28,1 (in the same formula) with *sam* (*vyajant*) 8.18,1 (meaning ?)
 VYADH—: imper. *viddhi* 13.11,9 16.80,8 (a. elsewhere) a blunder for *vidhya* *vividhāte* (perf.) 13.6,13
 VYAY—: with *parā* (*vyayāmasi*) 9.7,15
vyāghrarūpa 1.47,1 having the form of a tiger
vyālaka 9.10,10 (*ālakaṃ vyālakaṃ*), cf. Ś. *vyāla*
vyokas 6.22,24; 26 dwelling apart
vratabhaj or *bhāj* 4.5,1 performing a vow (Ś. *mṛtabhraj*)
vṛhikhala 19.34,6 threshing-floor for rice, cf. *tulī*

śakadhūmyā 17.13,4 produced (f.) from cow-dung
śatakhā (or -a) 16.70,7 hundred-deep (*kūpa*)
śatagvavatī 15.18,10 accompanied (f.) by a hundred
śatadaṃṣṭrā 20.20,6 having (f.) a hundred teeth (unlucky mark)
śatapāśa 19.37,1 having a hundred fetters
śatapṛṣṭhā 16.46,7 having (f.) a hundred backs (or: arrangements)
śatarātra 16.71,10 n. of a rite
śatarohā 14.3, 12 having (f.) a hundred growths
śatarcin 8.15,6 singing a hundred (*maharṣayaḥ*), perh. a name for the
 RV.—singers
śateṣudhi 14.2.14 hundred-quivered (Rudra)
śapathin 2.27,3 a blunder for Ś. *śabdin*
śapha 10.12,2 (pl.) cattle
śaphahasta 13.10,7 having hoofs for hands (Rudra)
śamīśākhā 19.20,16 branch of *śamī*-tree
śaraṇakṛt 4.30,1; 9 giving protection (god)
śārāva 9.21 (passim) made on ... plates (ritual cake)
 ŚARDH—: *śardhatām* 19.51,11 (*bhasad*); *śardhaya* a. *śardhayaḥ* ibid.
śarvara 1.102,1 night (Ś. *atiśarvara*)
śalabha 5.20,4 locust; -ī 5.20,5 id.
śalalya 6.14,4 (meaning ?) cf. *śalālī*
śalūla 2.15,2 (Ś. *śaluna*)

- śavadhi* 5.6,5 (meaning ?)
śākalya 1.32,2 (pl.) (Ś. *śakalī* or *śakalya*)
śābaliya 5.34,8 19.38,1 (or *-eya* ?) variegated
śāyitva 3.40,5 bed-time
śārṅga 15.18,7; 8 horned (*śvan*)
śālilāṅgala 12.6,10 rice-plough
śālya 12.3,1 rice (= *śālī*)
śālyakartṛ 12.3,1 rice-maker
śitikarṇa 19.48,3 having white ears (*kavi*)
śitvakṣa 7.2,5 having a white breast (*krimi*)
śilavatī 19.42,2 = *śilā* (for *śila*)
śilā 19.42,2 = *śila*
śilādī 6.4,1 (Ś. *śilācī*)
śilānūda 7.20,1 having his abode on the hills (*Garuḍa*)
śiloṇchana 19.42,2 gleaning ears of corn
ŚIṢ—: with *ni* (*śiṇḍhi*) 4.27,4
ŚĪ—: with *ā* (*śāyi*) 5.12,6
śitajala 9.7,1 having cold water (demon)
śitarūra 1.45,1; 3 16.150,9; 151,2 cold and hot (fever)
śitavāta 9.7,1 having cold wind (demon)
śīrśaktya 1.45,4 7.15,6 16.74,1 (Ś. *-kti*)
śīrśaroga 1.90,4 9.13,9 16.74,5 19.28,14 head-ache
śīrśahatyā 1.31,4 (Ś. *śīrśāmaya*)
śīrśālaka 7.10,10 (meaning?) ep. of a fever
śuktilaśa 16.74, 2 shell-formed (*yakṣma*)
ŚUC—: with *pra* (caus.) 2.55,3 to burn on
śuṇḍā 9.22,8 tavern
ŚUDH—: with *sam* (*śundhadhvam*) 3.23,1
śundhyutva 6.3,6 (meaning?)
ŚUṢ—: with *abhi* (*śuṣyata*, 2nd pl.) 6.4,9 to make dry (cf. 6.6,4) (Ś. *siṣyade*)
śuṣphita 5.37,2 tied together (= *gumphita*)
śūdra 2.32,5; 3.13,8 4.27,6; 9.9,6; 10,5 19.38,15; 20,24,8 n. of a caste (partly
in the formula *śūdrā utāryāḥ*, and cf. *ārya*).
śūraputra 9.10,9 having heroes as sons (*gr̥ha*); -ā 3.9,4 id. (f) (*Aditi*)
śṛṅgasuśaṃgada 6.9,7 giving good battle with the horns (bull)
śṛṅgaupaśā 2.33,5 having (f.) an ornament at the horns (cow)
śocana 19.26,11 burning, and cf. *aśo*^o
śaunaka 8.15,2 (pl.) n. pr.
ŚRATH—: *aśrathni* 19.33,3
śravasya 3.7,4; 5 20.9,5 (Ś. *-syu*)
ŚRĀ—: *śrāpyetām* 16.71,1 (*tasyaudanam abhi śo*)

ŚRI—: with *pari* (śrayāmahe) 1.37,3; 4 to surround with; *abhi vi* (śraya) 4.3,1; śrayāsi 19.19,9

śrīguru 20.51,8 (meaning?)

ŚRĪV—: śrevay- 19.10,11 (Ś. śrīvay-)

śraiṣṭhyatamā 7.6,5 excellent (f.) (śālā)

śronābhīd 5.12,2 piercing the hips (said of the new-born child)

śronāya (or -eya ?) 5.34,8 19.38,1

ṣaṭśarāva 9.21,6 made on six plates (ritual cake)

ṣaḍyāman 9.21,6 having six ways (god)

ṣaṭṭika 4.14,8 n. of a kind of rice, cf. below

ṣaṭtirātra 4.14,8 period of sixty days (ṣ-e ṣaṭṭikasya śalyasya paridhiḥ kṛtaḥ)

saṃrohiṇī (or -aṇī ?) 4.15,4 growing (f.) (plant)

saṃvṛṣṭā 2.38,5 rained upon (f.) (plant)

saṃvega 20.13,4 agitation

saṃskanda 19.48,13; 14 (meaning?), cf. saṃskandāsy oṣadhe 14-16

saṃstavya 15.1,1 to be praised

saṃsraṇa 8.12,11 flowing together (of the waters)

saṃsrāvaṇa 19.28,15 ep. of the yakṣma

sagaṇa 19.54,5 possessing attendants (sagaṇa sagaṇam mā kuru)

sagaṇavant 7.2,9 id. (krīmī)

sagantu 16.5,6 a blunder for Ś. sabandhu

sagara 7.20,1 n. or ep. of a god, cf. samudra ibid. 8

sagaliga 20.43,3 (meaning?) ep. of Pūṣan

sagdhi 19.22,6 common meal (Acc. pl. -īḥ)

saṃkupa 15.12,6 angry

saṃkusika 17.31,1 (a. elsewhere) (Ś. °kasuka)

saṃklānta 11.2,7 exhausted

°saṃgada cf. śrīgasuṣaṃgada

saṃgranthya 1.99,2 tying together

saṃciti 13.5,6 collecting (object: dhanānām)

saṃjighatsu 5.27,7 hungry (nirṛti), cf. Ś. jighatsu

saṃjiti 19.53,15 conquest

sattrāyaṇa 17.29,16 (pl.) n. of a sacrifice

satyākūti 10.2,5 having true intention

satyākta 4.14,7 smeared by truth

SAD—: with *abhi* (°sāday-) 5.10,10 (meaning?)

sadaṃśa 7.20,2 having a tusk (god)

sadānvāghna 5.1,6 killer of a sadānvā

sadānvāghnī 3.22,2; 3 6.8,3 17.13,10 id. (f.) (plant)

sadānvājambhana 2.46,3 destroying sadānvās

- sanāyu* 11.2,11 wishing for gain, bes. *dhanāyu*
saṃtokā 5.26,4 17.12,9; 10; 15,5 19.9,13 with (her) children (f.) (*arāti*;
sadānvā)
saṃdhvāna 14.2,4 whistling together (winds)
saṃnati 5.35,1 inclination
sapakṣin 4.18,1 = °*pakṣa*
sapatnajambhana 2.46,4 13.11,1 destroying rivals
sapatnasāha 10.4,12 conquering rivals (*rāṣṭra*)
saptaśarāva 9.21,7 made on seven plates (ritual cake)
saptasaptatīḥ 5.32,1 (pl.) (Ś. *saptasapta*), cf. 8.16,2 *sapta*...*saptatīḥ*
sabhāprapādin 20.58,5 frequenting assemblies (*Rudra*)
sabhauma 5.15,4 possessing (pl.) the same ground
samaktabheṣaja 20.54,9 prepared remedy, cf. *samaktaṃ bheṣajam* 19.40,3
samādhidambha 19.52,10 deceit in attention
samidvatī 8.16,5 20.47,7; 52,10 (meaning?) f. ep. of *yoni*
samuṣṭa 3.16,4 completely burnt (*ahi*)
samedhamant 7.12,9 accompanied by strength (*varcas*)
samota 19.14,7 interwoven (gods)
saṃpatatra 19.37,13; 14; 41,15 = *patatra*; and cf. s. v. *udiyaga*
sarā 16.48,2 going (f.)
sarpapuṇyajanāḥ (pl.) 9.23,14 snakes and pure-folks, cf. Ś. 8.8,15
sarparājñī 13.12,4 having (f.) a snake as king (*virāj*)
sarvadhāva 19.50,5; 6 (*indriya*, pl.) (meaning?)
sarvanīlāsikhaṇḍa 20.57,7 having entirely black tufts
sarvaparus 16.58,1; 2; 17.29,16 having all (his) articulations (*odana*)
sarvapaśu 9.22,24; 25 having all (my) cattle
sarvapād 16.58,1; 2; 17.29,16 having all (his) feet (*odana*)
sarvapuṇyajanāḥ 10.14,2 a blunder for *sarpa*°
sarvapṛṣṭha 16.58,1; 2 having all (his) back (*odana*) 17.30,14 provided with
all the *Prṣṭhas*
sarvapauruṣa 16.12,1 (Ś. °*pūruṣa*)
sarvavasu 9.20,11 (nt. sg.) all good(s)
sarvānuprasāra 17.29,3 having an entire extension
sarvāstrin 10.2,5 having all weapons
SAH—: *sāsahīti* 13.14,12
sahakratu 2.85,2 (meaning?)
sahagu 3.10,4 with the cow(s)
sahaputrā 4.10,5 with (her) son(s) (f.)
sahapuruṣa 3.10,4 with the men
sahapauruṣa 19.9,13 (Ś. °*pūruṣa*)
sahavāta 2.3,2 with the wind (*antarikṣa*)
sahasrakhā (or -a) 16.70,7 thousand-deep (*kūpa*)

sahasrakāṇḍa 19.23,2 20.43,10 consisting of a thousand parts (*bheṣaja*; Bhaga)

sahasracakṣas 2.62,5 having a thousand eyes (*piśāca*)

sahasrapāśa 19.37,1 having a thousand fetters

sahasrapuruṣā 9.11,4 having (f.) a thousand men (*pr̥thivī*)

sahasrapoṣamandī 8.18,11 pleasant by a thousand prosperities

sahasrapṛṣṭi 17.28,1 having a thousand edges (*vajra*) = °*bhṛṣṭi*

sahasrabhoga 8.18,5 a thousand enjoyments

sahasrastutā 20.10,13 extolled (f.) by a thousand (*devī*)

sahasrāṅgā 5.31,9 7.15,10 having (f.) a thousand members

sahasrī 17.1,3 19.53,4-6 thousandth (f.) (*puṣṭi*)

sahahṛdaya 4.11,1 with the heart (*havis*)

sahodarī 6.12,7 sister

sāmvatsarāyus 5.15,4; 9 yearly life

sādhūmitra 10.4,12 having the enemies conquered (*rāṣṭra*)

sādānveya 16.8,10 17.12,7 son of a *sadānvā*

SĀDH—: *sādhayāmi* 9.21 (passim) (...*tvā jathare s°*)

sādhaya a. *abhi sādhaya* 5.10,10 (meaning?)

sādhuvāhana 5.34,8; 19.38,1 driving well

sāntvana 15.19,1 appeasing

sāpatnya 5.37,2 rivalry

sāyaṃyāvānt 17.21,2 going in the evening (god)

sāyusī 20.19,8 endowed (f.) with life

sāharasī 1.85,3 f. ep. of a plant

sārthin 13.1,3 belonging to [thine] group (*takman*) (*sārthinam ichasva*)

sāhna 16.114,2 (sg.) 17.29,16 (msc.pl.), n. of a rite

sikatāmaya 1.94,4 consisting of sand

siñcanī 15.15,3 watering (f.) (plant)

SIDH—: with *ud* (*utsedha*) 12.6,10

sindhujātā 5.1,1 born (f.) from the river or from the Sindh (plant)

sindhuprajāna 6.6,6 id.

sindhya 17.29,15 (meaning?) (nt.pl.)

sukhahastā 17.12,5 having (f.) a gentle hand (demon)

sudāvan 20.4,5 (Voc. -*vas*) (Ś. °*dānu*)

sudih (a) 5.28,2 well polished (*daṃṣṭra*)

surūpamkaraṇī 1.26,5 (Ś.sa°)

surohinī 16.47,1 (*rohinī cāsi surohinī cāsi*)

suvakṣyamāṇa 1.83,3 increasing

suvaptave 19.17,15 (inf.) for good shaving

suvarṇasavana 19.8,14 producing gold (*giri*)

suvitave 19.4,9 (inf.) (Ś. *savitave*)

suvitā 16.46,8 (*suvitā cāsi suvitā cāsi*)

- suvitti* 16.46,8 (*vittiś ca suvittiś caiti*)
suvidāna cf. s.v. *vindat*
°suṣaṃgada cf. *śṛṅga°*
suśāh 19.52,10 easy to defeat
suṣumā 20.10,11 (Ś. *suṣū°*)
susamiti 5.19,8 good association
susamrāj 3.27,4 good sovereign (Indra)
susārathi 19.34,14 having a good charioteer
SŪ—: sasūvāte 4.11,6
sūtadhānyā 3.20,3 containing (f.) produced grains (Ś. *pūti°*)
sūtravat 2.87,5 (nt.) thread-work, loom
sūdi 12.7,3 (pl.) streaming
sūryajyotis 16.149,10 having the splendour of the sun
sūryapūrvā 4.21,3 preceding (f.) the sun (*uṣas*)
sūryabhrājan 4.14,3 shining like the sun
senāmohana 3.6,5 with *kṛ—*: to confound the army, cf. *senāṃ mohayatu Ś.*
sodaka 1.96,4 having water
sodarya 8.15,7 born from the same womb
sodaryatā 8.15,8 being born from the same womb
somanetra 2.53,4 conducted by Soma (god)
somapitsala 19.51,12 (Ś. *°satsaru*, YV. *°pitsaru*)
somasatvan 14.3,15 (meaning ?) (*janāḥ*)
saukāmya 6.6,5 (meaning ?)
sautejas 2.47,3 good splendour
saunṛmṇa 2.47,3 good fortitude
sauvarcas 2.47,2 good splendour
sauvīrya 2.47,1 good valour
sauśukra 2.47,4 good brightness
SKAND—: with *apa* (*°skanday-*) 2.24,1-5 cause to jump away (from, Ab.)
(said of *yakṣma*) cf. 19.48,8
skandāka (or *-ā*) 15.18,7 (meaning ?) and cf. *a°*
SKABH—: with *vi* (*°ṣkambhāya* a. *°ṣkambhāyatu*) 20.26,5; 6 to fix (*viṣkam-*
bheṇa vi ṣkambhāya)
stīrṇaśṛṅga 4.13,4 having spread out horns (*ṛṣabha*)
STU—: with *ni* (*stuvāna*) 4.4,9
pra astāviṣam 2.87,4
striṣūya 19.12,3 woman-birth
sthālakā 4.15,6 (meaning ?)
sthīrapauruṣā having (f.) strong men (*śālā*) 7.6,9
sthīravirā 7.6,8 id.
sthīrasthira 15.16,10 (*°sthīreṇa saṃbhava* be steadfast)
sthīrāṅgā 7.6,9 having (f.) strong members (*śālā*)

- snātacarya* 9.22,12 conduct of a *snātaka*
SPṚ—: *paspāra* 2.61,1
SPṚŚ—: *pasprśāte* 16.10,2 (Ś. *pasprdhāte*)
sphātimkāra 8.18,8 producing prosperity
sphātivattama 5.30,8 (Ś. °*mattama*)
sphātivant 8.11,2 = *mant*
sphātihāri 2.91,4 destroying (f.) prosperity (demon)
sphij 16.148,1 (du. *sphijoh*) hips
sphāman (msc.) 19.34,9
sphirasphoṭa 8.18,8 large expansion
SPHŪRJ—: with *ava* 2.70,4 to thunder
 °*sphoṭa* cf. *sphira*°
SYAND—: with *anu* (°*ṣiṣyadāti*) 9.25,2
syāmāla 1.96,2 (meaning ?), cf. Āp. *syāmūla*
sraktivalga 1.90,4 (*yakṣma*), cf. *śukti*°
sravana 10.9,9 flowing (of waters)
svakāra a. *svakṛt* 17.22,6; 7 doing (his) own or by himself
svakṣarā 14.4,1 having (f.) good speech (*rātrī*)
svajāyamāna 16.151,10 self-born
svadhṛti 2.19,3 standing still by himself
SVAP—: with *ava* (*svāpsīt*) 9.25,16 20.61,8 to sleep (fig.)
svarājyabhāra 16.151,9 having the charge of (his) own kingdom
svargya 6.22,8 leading to heaven
svaṇara 5.6,10 n. of a kind of sun
svasṛhan 19.46,14 killing (his) sister
svādhicarāṇa 13.14,16 (his) own moving-place
svādhīṣṭhāna 13.14,16 (his) own standing-place
svāvas 16.47,10 (his) own help (*svam ca svāvaś caiti*)
svedana 1.45,3 causing to perspire (fever)

hataśatru 10.4,11 having the enemies destroyed (-u nt., *rāṣṭra*)
HAN—: *mā ghāniṣṭhāḥ* 16.36,6 (Ś. *kṣaniṣṭhāḥ*)
 with *abhi-sam* (°*hathah*) 20.58,7 to attack
 with *parā* (*ajighāmsan*) 4.20,7
hanugrāha 11.2,10 paralysis of the jaws
harṣayiṣṇu 1.45,2 thrilling (fever)
halīkṣma 4.7,3 a blunder for Ś. -*kṣṇa*, cf. 19.51,9-11
HĀ—: with *prati* (°*hāyāmahe*) 19.36,9 (meaning ?)
HI—: with *prā* (°*ahaiṣīḥ*) 8.16,11
HIMS—: *himsmaḥ* 9.22,6
himsāt 5.36 (passim)
himsitr 9.18,4 (with Acc. *brāhmaṇam himsitāraḥ*)

himakā : Voc. -e 9.7,15 cold one (f.)

hiraṇmaya (f. -ī) 7.5,8 9.8,3 16.62,4; 63,3; 91,8 18.25,1 19.8,13; 32,18 (Ś.

hiraṇyaya)

hiraṇyakumbha 9.7,10 vessel of gold

hiraṇyakeśi 7.19,3 having (f.) golden hair (*arāti*)

hiraṇyadā 4.25,1 (Ś. °jā)

hiraṇyaparichandana 2.79,4 having a golden dress

hiraṇyapāśā 14.1,11 having (f.) golden fetters (*dhenu*)

hiraṇyapiṇḍa 2.79,2 clod of gold

hiraṇyapuṣpī 2.79,1 having (f.) golden flowers

hiraṇyabāhū 6.4,7 golden-armed (f.) (plant)

hiraṇyavarcasa 2.32,4 8.10,5; 20.3 splendour of the gold

hiraṇyahastaghna 7.7,5 having a golden hand-guard

hiraṇyākṣa 2.79,4 having golden eyes

hr̥ḍu 1.32,2; 3 ram (Ś. *hr̥ḍu*)

hr̥k 2.8,1 (Ś. *hiruk*)

hr̥cchoka 3.28,4 heart-ache

hr̥dayaṃgama 19.28,14 going to the heart (*yakṣma*)

hr̥dayaspr̥ś 2.90,3 touching the heart

hr̥dayeṣṭha 19.28,14 20.26,1 situated in the heart (*yakṣma*)

hemantalabdha 17.5,4 (Ś. °jābdha)

haima 4.21,6 mountain

hotrī 19.46,5 (meaning ?)

hrasvapucha 5.34,9 having a short tail (*ratha*)

HVĀ—: *hvayīta* 16.90,3

VEDIC STUDIES : ON SOME NOMINAL DERIVATIVES IN THE RĠVEDA

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The recent publication of the Rġveda translated and annotated by GELDNER, now followed by a new volume of the *Altindische Grammatik* devoted to the nominal derivation (a tremendous work of erudition!), may incite us to look again over some facts relating to this field of Vedic grammar. As a rule we limit ourself, this time, to points dealt with in GELDNER's notes (G) and we refer to the pages in WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER's work, which in the above-mentioned part (II.2) could not yet have thoroughly utilized the volumes 2 and 3 of GELDNER's translation.

To begin with the root-nouns. In his note at 1.174,8 G. observed the coexistence between several root-nouns and nouns in -as-. It is a fact that -as-, in many cases, works as a pure enlargement, not only at the end of compounds (where II.1 strangely enough does not mention it, but cf. III, p. 284), but even in single words (II.2, p. 226 sq.). It is, however, hardly credible we ought, with G., to join to this group the case of *ámh* = *ámhas* (cf. now II.2, p. 13 referring to III, p. 80): the abl. sing. *ámhaḥ* 6.3,1, at the end of the stanza, forms a part of those "syncopated" finals, which happen to abound, in that position, for words ending in -as-. G. himself reports (sometimes hesitatingly) *tádapas* (as) 5.47,2 *návīyas* (īm) 7.36, 2 *návyas* (as) 7.18,5 and 9.94,3 *pésas* (ā) 2.3,6 *rájas* (ā) 1.139,4 *rādhās* (ā) 2.9,9 *vācas* (ā) 8.39,2 and elsewhere *vāyas* (ā) 1.178,2 *vāyas* (e) 7.97,1 *śāvas* (ā) 8.3,6 *śrávas* (ā) 5.16,4 *sāhas* (ā) 1.56,2, not to mention the fixed form *mahās* III, p. 81 (prob. "mightily" with OLDENBERG; not quoted as such II.2, p. 230), nor the case-endings *ānāgās* (as) 7.60,1; 66,4 *anenās* (as) 1.129,5 *anehās* (as) 10.61,12. *A'mhaḥ* 6.3,1 may have been provoked by the contiguity of the full form *tyájasā*.

Other remarkable "syncopes" are *pava* = *pavasva* 9.49,3 (cf. the full form in the same stanza) *siñcán* (tī) 10.102,11 *śīdan* (tam) 7.34,16 *upaṣút* (as) 9.87,9 *pravát* (as) 9.74,7 *bṛhát* (īh) 9.5,5 and *bṛhát* (ā) 3.2,14. But *stavān* "praised" (three times) may rather be (at the end of the pāda) a haplo-logical form of **stava-vān*. Lastly *úṣṭrān* (ām) 8.46,31 (cf. 22) *sūrīn* (ām) 6.37,4 *devān* (ām) and *mártān* (ām) (on which see III, p. 108 sq.), *nīn* (partly

for *nṛṇām*, to be pronounced **nṛṇām*) (ibid., p. 211) and several other forms mentioned ibid., p. 35 and 79 sqq.

A distinct usage is that which we may call (in German) "Breviloquenz", as we find in *aryāh* = *aryamā* 7.64,3, *turvāh* = *turvāśah* 10.62,10; or, more often, with the removal of a last member of a compound, *śyāvāh* = *śyāvāśah* 1.117,8 and 24; 10.65,12, *viśvam* = *viśvādevam* 4.1,1, *árṇam* = **arṇapám* 5.32,8, *jaritṛṇām* = **jaritṛpānām* 7.66,3, *pṛṣat°* = *pṛṣadājyá°* 5.42,1 *dravátpānī* = **dravátpānyaśvā* 1.3,1, *patayát* = *patayátsakham* 1.4,7 (cf. II. 1, p. 30), *mitrá* = *mitráthim* 1.36,17, *mātalī* = *mātaríśvan* (II.2, p. 407). Of course, a part only of these reconstructions are sure, but further researches may conduce to discover other instances of a well-rooted tendency, which was reinforced by the existence of the so-called elliptic dual, type *mitrá* = *mitrávárūnā*.

In the list of the exchanges between suffix zero and -as-, we have also to cancel the form *úṣ*: the formula *uśó ná jārāh* "like the lover of Dawn" 1.69,1 and 9; 7.10,1 forms a case similar to the well-known formula *sūryó ná cáksuh*, *uśás* being an (irregular) nominative form. Haplology (*uśás* being for *uśásas*) may also intervene for the explanation, as in *uśá-ušo hí vaso ágram éśi* 10.8,4; likewise at 3.6,7 and 8.41,3, where *uśás* is used as an accus. plural. The word is subject to many morphological derailments, cf. II.2, p. 13, III, p. 282. In any case a stem *úṣ* would be highly questionable from the comparative point of view.

On the other hand, the accus. plur. *nábhaḥ* 1.174,8 cannot be suspected, but it is improbable that we are facing here a doublet of the stem *nábhas* "cloud"; the word is to be put together with the verb *NABH-* and with the root-noun *nābh* 9.86,6 which apparently means "split"; it points out to "burstings" or "tearings" conceived as hostile forces; ibid. also we have *bhíd* in the same meaning. The epithet being *ádevīh*, probably some kind of "heresy" was meant. The form *nābh* has been already connected with *NABH-* II.2, p. 12, III, p. 241.

Another expansion for root-nouns is -ā-. But *ūrjā*, formerly admitted by Roth for 10.76,1, is to be cancelled, cf. OLDENBERG ad loc. and II. 2, p. 261: a gen. plur. *ūrjām* is much more likely, as it refers to plural entities.

A notable root-noun is *prañī* 3.38,2: for a word of this structure, we expect the "agentis" value, rather than the "actionis" ("Förderung" Gr., "Führung" II.2, p. 17, "Vertraulichkeit", dubitatively, G.): something like "guide" (taking in account the meaning of *prá* + *Nī-*), as epithet of *kavi*.

Other nouns in radical -ī- are *prāvē* (*su° duṣ°*), *pratvī*, *devāvī* (cf. II. 2, p. 39 and 17): they derive from the verb *Vī-*, not (with the padap.

and Gr.) from AV-. The root-noun *vī* is attested as a single element in the formula *ucāthasya vīh* "enjoying the hymn", which evokes *ukthāvi* of later literature. As for *prāvī*, G. 2,26,1 relevantly compares with *prá vihi* (ibid. 2), following *yajasva* as elsewhere *suprāvī* borders on *somī*, *sūsvī* or *sunvān*, or as, inversely, *ásuṣveḥ* is contiguous to *duṣprāvyaḥ*. The probable meaning is "taking the initiative (in speaking to the gods, or persuading them)"; the expression is abbreviated from *devāvī*, cf. 10.49,11 where we find *devānī indro vivye* (*vivye* being rightly connected with *Vī-* by G.). The analysis *devā + vī* is confirmed by the doublet *devavī* (cf. G. at 9.1,4), with which is to be compared the frequent *devān Vī-*.

Pratīvī must mean "who receives (the offering) in counterpart" (like *prāti + Vī-*), not "who offers", cf. G. at 8.101,10. There are also two instances of *pratīvī* as nomen act. = *yajñā* in the eight Book (26,8; 39,5). The stem *suprāvya* of Gr. is to be cancelled (cf. G. at 2.13,9); likewise *pratīvyā*, concerning which G. hesitates at 8.23,1; cf. now II.2, p. 802. Lastly *durāvya* (Gr.), as an epithet of *śetu* 9.41,2, is probably "of a difficult access" (the periphrasis designating the soma-sieve): here also the correct setting is *durāvī*.

The masculine nouns in *-ī-* (of which *avī* would form a part if we followed the indication of the padap.) are rare. Sometimes the voc. dual *mādhvī*, epithet of the *Aśvin*, is reckoned among them: but this adjective (on which see II.2, p. 394), whose meaning may be "to whom the *mādhū* hereditarily belongs", is made on the model of the patronymica in *-i-*. Other derivatives, as *nāvyasi-* (II.2, p. 407) in the gen. plur. *nāvyasīnām*, epithet of the *Maruts*, and *śiprīṇi* in *śiprīṇīnām*, epithet of the some-drinkers, apparently "with large jaws", may also be held as ending with *-ī-*. The ending *-ī-* is even more probable than *-i-*, not so much on account of *śiprīṇīvant* (an epithet of *Indra* = *śipravant*), but rather owing to *vājīnī vājīnīvant vājīnīvasu*, equivalents of *vājavant* and *vasu*, also "reichbelohnend"; G. proposes "reich in Rennstuten" at 10.75,8, but the proximity of *svāśva* does not recommend this translation.

The suffix *-ī-* we have in *śiprīṇī vājīnī* (cf. II.2, p. 409) is an ancient augmentative developed into an expletive, as in *sarasī* "lake" *tāviṣī* "(great) strength" *śavasī* (personified) *jyōtiṣimant* (AV.) etc. *durarmanī* (AV.) and *duradmanī* (YV.) (p. 406). Likewise *rōdasī* (dual) is probably an older augmentative, starting from *rōdas*, with a meaning similar to that of *pājas*, that is "mass"; other conjectures II.2, p. 409. On *pājas*, BAILEY, BSOAS., 1948, p. 326.

The double, or even triple, suffix which is to be found in *śiprīṇīvant* and *vājīnīvant*, is once again in such cases as *nēdiṣṭhātama* and *jyeṣṭhātama*,

iṣitatvātā and *puruṣatvātā*, but the fact is specially frequent with *-vant*; *vajrivās* (voc., with probable influence of *adrivas*), *antarvāvant* and *yatumāvant* (cf. II. 2, p. 893; also *sīlāmāvant*) and a group of endings in *-yāvant* which are partly extensions of possessive adjectives in *-ya-*: *ṛtvīyāvant* *tṛṣyāvant* and *tarṣyā°* *omyāvant* *pītryāvant* *poṣyāvant* *viśvādevyāvant* *hemyāvant* (cf. also, apart, the voc. *niyutvate* from *-vat-i-*). The above-said *-īvant* may be a reduced form of this *-yāvant*.

Another uncertain root-noun is *suṣṭú*, epithet of Indra: if we render it by "well-praised", we implicitly admit the possibility of a root-noun ending in *-u-* without final *-t*, what is but weakly warranted by *suṣumānt* ("having a good birth" G.), where radical *-u-* comes from *ū*; see some other possible cases II. 2, p. 44. G. at 10.104,5 proposes to explain *stú* as a doublet of *sātu* (type *snú/sānu*), which in the probable meaning of "nature, manner of being" (otherwise, II. 2, p. 667; cf. RENOU *Suffixe -tu-*, p. 6), has to be held as an enlargement of *AS-* (cf. with the same meaning *sāman* in the expression *ṛtasya sāman* G. at 1.147,1). In fact, *suṣṭú* must be a shortening of *súṣṭuta*, as we have *stavān* (above-mentioned) of **stavavánt*.

Some second members of compounds have a quasi-suffixial value in the R̥gvedic language, as it will be the case, on a much larger scale, in the latter literature. G. notes it for *°vṛdh* at 3.43,3 which in numerous formations seems to be nothing more than *-vant-* (II. 2, p. 919). Likewise *-vasu-*, so in *ṛtāvaso* (voc.), *vibhāvasu-* "shining", *sūryāvasu* (voc.); the epithet of the Aśvins *vṛṣanvasū* (voc. dual), not translated by G., appears to mean no more than *vṛṣanā* that is to say, "provided with the might of a bull". At 6.58,2 and 9.86,41 G. compares the second member of compound *°pastya* with class. *śālin* "full of". We may refer here to the formations with numeral value, such as *°bhuji* *°vaya* *°vṛt* and *°vart(t)u* *°dātu* and *°dhātu* II.2, p. 663, 906 III, p. 422, 429. It seems that *śrī*, at the end of certain compounds, amounts to *-vant-*, for instance *ghṛtaśrī* = *ghṛtāvant*, *kṣatraśrī* (epithet of Varuṇa) = *sukṣatrá* according to G. at 1.25,5, who quotes several other instances. *Hariśrī* might have an expletive *śrī*. The diversity of the nouns to which *śrī* is appended excludes the possibility that this element retains its proper nominal or verbal value. Last of all, on the whole group, see II.2, p. 8.

The type of classifying compounds, *°ādi* etc., is not known of the RV. However, G. is tempted to understand *dāsāpravarga* 1.92,8 "(wealth) beginning with slaves", *āsvabudhya* ibid. and 7 "(...) ending with horses"; also *góagra* ibid. and 2.1,16 and 1.121,14 (and *āsvabudhna* G. 10.8,3). The same may be said of *candrāgra* 6.49, 8 "(reward) having gold at its head", and, with another shade of meaning, 5.41,14 "(speech) chiefly made of gold". If need be, *jyótiragra* could mean "whose first (element) is the light" cf. G. at 7.33,7.

But the notion of "tip, head (of lance, etc.)" subsists in *áyoagra* and *tápur*°. According to G. *górjika*, as epithet of soma, could be an equivalent to *góagra*, that is "consisting chiefly in milk"; unfortunately this meaning does not suit so well with *bhārjika*, epithet of Agni, "made of glare" ("glanzerhöht" G.), and does not suit at all with *āvīrjika*, epithet of Dadhikrā, "whose pushing forward is obvious" (G. "seine Vorzüge offenbarend"), cf. *rjānt* in the same hymn (4.38,7) "pushing himself forward"; on *rjika*-, see II.1, p. 59.

Special suffixes :

-a-: a meaning "agentis" for *kṣāya* "who dwells" seems at hand for *āram kṣāyāya no mahé* 8.15,13 ("be ready, o soma, for the great dweller" G.); but the true meaning is rather "for the great dwelling (= that of Indra)", or, as "loses" or "offenes Kompositum" "for that one who has a great dwelling" (= *mahākṣayāya*). One must avoid multiplying the "agentis" value besides the "actionis" one, if there is no change in the place of the accent. Likewise, *bṛhān kṣāyaḥ*, ibid. 9, is for **bṛhātḥkṣayaḥ*, epithet of Viṣṇu; cf. also *divī kṣāyam* 3.2,13 and perhaps *kṣāyo divī* 8.64,4. G. considers as other possible or probable cases of "loses Kompositum" *sumitrā vīśaḥ* 10.69, 1 *itthā dhīyaḥ* (*dhīye*) 6,62, 3 and passim *makṣū sumatīḥ* 9.88,7 *asmād dhyṛdāḥ* 10.5,1 (and *hṛdāḥ...asmāt* 1.60,3) *barhīr u tistirāṇā* 1.108,4 *devatrā...yānān* 10.73,7 *vāhnir āsā* 1.76,4 and passim *itā ūtīḥ* 1.119,8 *śukrāya bhānave* 7.4,1 *dróghāya cid vácāse* 6.62,9 *devām ṛtvijam* 1.1,1 and elsewhere *divé jánāya* 6.18,14 *ṛpālam manyúm* 9.97,8 *urū iva gātūḥ* 9.96,15. Lastly the proper names *jārataḥ kárṇam* 10.80,3 *paruśé gávi* 6.56,3 *varo suśāman* 8.23,28 and elsewhere *dasyave vṛka* Vāl. 7,1 and 8,1 (eventually also *ṛpālam manyúm*).

apsavá (against Gr., who analyses *ap-savá*) is (10.65,3) a derivative of loc. plur. *apsú*. G. rightly observes that *apsú* acts as a stem in *apsujā* and others. Similarly we have *pṛtsutí* (Gr. *pṛt-sutí*) (contested II.2, p. 640) "fight" (G.) and *pṛtsutúr*, and even *pṛtsúṣu* (*pṛtsú* being the only attested case of *pṛt* in the RV.); the masculine employment of *pṛtsutí* at 10.38,1 points also to its abnormal formation (for masculines in -*tī*-, cf. II.2, p. 636 and 641).

kṣāita : the only means to harmonize the two akin formulae *yásāstaro yásāsām kṣāito asmé* 9.97,3 (said of soma) and *tvám hi kṣāitavad yásāḥ... patyase* 6.2,1 (said of Agni) is to understand *kṣāita* as "chief of *kṣitis*, of human establishments", not "popular" or "compatriot", as G. tentatively translates; better "princely" II.2, p. 873.

-āna-: the usual suffix of participles also serves as a secondary (denominative) suffix in *vāsavāna*, epithet of Indra, cf. II.2, p. 275. Other analogous endings are -(a) *sāná-*, which are connected with verbal formations in -s-. It remains a few proper names, like *pṛthavāna*, *āpnavāna*, etc., sug-

gesting that *vāsavāna* also may have been conceived as a proper name "Master-of-riches". Otherwise we would refer to the playing on words, *vāsvo vāsavānāḥ* 1.90,2 being a substitute for the authentic formula *īśānā...vāsavaḥ* 1.113,7; at a later stage, *vāsavāna* has been used alone.

-*idh*- (not mentioned II.2) in *īśidh* seems to be an enlargements of *īṣ*, as was already suggested by Gr. The analogous form *niṣṣidh* may have acted, considering the exchange *īṣ-KṚ*-/ *niṣ-KṚ*- and so on. In any case *īśidh* is attested contiguously to *īṣ* and to *pṛkṣ* 6.63,7, with a meaning obviously similar to that of these two synonymous nouns. And as *īṣ* is expanded into *īśidh*, so *pṛkṣ* is into *pṛkṣūdḥ* 1.141,4 (prob. "nourishment", *pṛkṣ* itself means "hot milk-drink" 4.43,5 etc.): the proximity with *vīrūdḥ* may of course have influenced the form. The quality of the vowel depends on the preceding vowel, *u* referring to *ṛ* as in the desideratives. In fact, there is again **īṣudh* (*īṣudhyati*), whose ending has been influenced by *pṛkṣūdḥ*. On these last two words, see II.2, p. 484; on **īṣudh*, KUIPER AO., XII, p. 252. Overcautiously, G. does not translate *īśidh*, nor *pṛkṣūdḥ*.

-*ina*-: the immense importance of the ellipsis, which G.'s translation allows us to recognize in all its fullness, has as a consequence that here and there an isolated word may go back to a more complete expression: so *āśinā* "old" (contrasted with *yuvān*) implies a **jaraṇām āśināḥ*, similar to *jaraṇām āśnavanta* we find at 7.30,4 (and cf. the compound *jarādaṣṭi*, on which see II.2, p. 637). Ultimately *āśinā* must rest on **jarādāsin*, with an extension of -*in*- into -*ina*- (-*ina*- in the RV. is mostly issued from -*in*-, cf. II. 2, p. 350 sq.).

-*īṣa*-: *bhariṣā* as it is justly recognized by II.2, p. 367 is made on *gaviṣā*, which figures in the same mantra; the same stanza contains the plays on words *duvanyasād/turanyasād*, *dravó dravarāḥ* and gives an impression of artificiality.

-*ī*-: a suffix -*ī*- may be admitted for the khila form *yūthyām*, corresponding to RV. 8.56,4 (Vāl. 9) *yūthyām*, but G. conjectures a fem. adjective in -*yā*; "belonging to the herd".

Unexpected would be a form like *samudrī* (which, in fact, is missing II.2 as well as in the dictionaries). We can get rid of 1.55,2 in posing a stem *samudrīya*, attested elsewhere, and also valid for 1.25,7. But the formula *āpāḥ samudrīyaḥ* 10.65,13 cannot mean but "Meeresgewässer" (G.), from *samudrī*, so that, once admitted, a doubt occurs in the interpretation of *nadyāḥ samudrīyaḥ* 1.55,2: G. brings together *arṇavāḥ* and *sam°*, so that, as last resource, we might also join *sindhvāḥ* and *sam°* at 10.65,13 and translate "the marine *sindhvā*" = "the waters".

-u-: *jāyú-* must be "born" rather than "victorious" (cf. *jáyús-* in this sense), at least for 1.67,1 (otherwise, II.2, p. 470). The form coincides with *pāyú* "protecting". *Vásu* (missing in that meaning II.2) = *vāstra* according to Sāyaṇa at 9.15,6 and 93,3: in the later passage the word, having *niktá* as epithet, seems in fact point at "dress".

-*enya-*: this suffix appears in *vijenýá*, which, as an epithet of *vártis* "travel", must mean "foreign", cf. 1.146,5 where G. starting from *jána* compares *svájenyam bhūma* 5.7,5 "native country" (cf. II.2, p. 503, hesitatingly). There remains some obscurity about *jénýa* itself (in spite of Thomas JRAS. 1946).

-*tā-*: the older use of the suffix is a semi-adverbial one (cf. II.2, p. 617 III, p. 116), not at all an abstract use: partly enlargement of adverbs, as *sasvártā* (contrasted to *āvis*) "secretly"; of non-qualificative adjectives, *sanátā* "since long", *dvitā* "again" (?), *tiraścátā* "athwart"; of substantives, *bāhútā* "on the arm", *puruṣátā* (and *°tvátā*) "in human manner", *devátā* "among the gods, towards the gods"; *devátā* as an abstract noun begins with the 10th maṇḍala.

Other formations, it is true, come nearer to abstracts, but in fixed grammatical cases only, and partly as haplological forms for -*tātā* (III, p. 116): *dīnātā* (instr.) *nagnātā* (nomin.) *abrahmātā* (instr.) *kavyātā* (instr.) *iṣitatvātā* (instr.) *susanītā* (instr.) *bandhūtā* (nomin. and instr.); *avīratā* is used a little more freely; lastly *agótā* appears in one and the same formula.

-*tu-*: *svaitu* is probably, against the *padap.*, to analyse into *sv-ā-etu* "of an easy access": type *supraitu duratyétu* etc. II.2, p. 651. *Siṣāsātuḥ* 9.47,5 has been rightly considered by G. as a verbal form, not as a nominal derivative; the word is missing II.2.

-*tra-*: a small group of adjectives with this ending has a participial (gerundive) value, as *vibhṛtra* "portable" or "dividable", *johūtra* "laut zu rufen" *yájatra* "deserving sacrifice" (II.2, p. 170), *suvidátra* "easy to approach" or "to obtain" (*durvidátra*, cf. *ibid.*, being with G. "unzulänglich"). A part *yájatra*, the shade of meaning is not noticed II.2, p. 170, 707.

-*trā-*: *ómātrā* 10.50,5 is something like "Hilfsbereitschaft" (G.): starting from *óman* "protecting person", it is a quite isolated case of a secondary suffix -*trā-* ("unklar" says II. 2, p. 706).

-*thā-*: *carāthā* 1.66,9 has apparently an instrumental ending, being contrasted with the instr. *vasatyā* ("when we travel" and "when we are at home"), so that the stem may be *carātha*, consistent with the other derivatives of CAR-, except for the quantity of the second vowel (II.2, p. 172).

-man-: *hóma* "calling" 1.9,9 (cf. II.2, p. 757) is plausible in itself, as a derivative in -man-, but there is no other instance of the o-vocalism in the root *HŪ-* and its nominal belongings. Elsewhere *hóman* means "offering", inclusive 8.63,4 (G.); *hótrā* is either "offering" 8.101,8 or "Opferant" (personified) 10.65,15 G. (and cf. at 1.142,9) etc. "Sacrifice" suits also for 7.104,6 better than "calling"; lastly "Anrufung" (G. at 1.120,1) is not necessary. Accordingly *hóma* 1.9,9 will be a verbal form of *HU-* (so *Sāyana*), and as such will be supported by *hoṣi*.

-yā-: *hiraṇyayā* 7.66,8 "through desire of gold" is made according to II.2, p. 243, possibly with haplology (for -yayayā) III, p. 116. But *hiraṇyāyā*, as epithet of *tvacā* or *manā* 8.1,32 and 78,2, is for **hiraṇyāyyā*, expected fem. instr.; the simplification of -yy- happens also in *rāyā* (*hiraṇyayā*) 7.66,8, and in *pūtākratāyai*. But -yy- has been maintained in many other forms. And some doubt subsists on the gender of *manā* (hapax) and of *tvac*, which has for epithets *gāvyē* and *ūvyē* (loc. masc.). The concordance of a masculine and a feminine is not unexampled, *br̥hatē devātātaye* 9.15,2 *vājasātān nṛṣāhye* 9.97,19 *śvānam* 9.101,1 *rāt* 5.46,8 *vīṣā kāsā* 8.23,11 *sarvātātaye br̥hatē* 9.96,4 *vṛtrahā* 2.1,11.

-vi-: the suffix (cf. II.2, p. 915) is an extension of -u-, cf. *ghṛṣvi*: *ghṛṣu*, *dārvi* (cf. *drú/dāru*), *súśiśvi* (cf. *śiśu*), *dādivi* (cf. the root *DYU-*), *jāgrvi*: *jāgarūka*, *cikītvīt* (adverb, cf. II.2, p. 916): *cikītvī*, *mādhvi* (above-mentioned; dual *mādhvī*): *mādhv*, *dādhvī* (cf. *dhruvā* suggesting a root *DHRU-* annexed to *DHR-*).

Lastly, *tuvipratī* (and *apratī*) is an exceptional adjectivation without suffix, on an adverbial basis: *tuvipratī* "apt to resist with might", epithet of Indra, *apratī* "against whom no resistance is possible", epithet of enemies (inclusive 7.83,4 where *vṛtrāṇi* is to supply). Likewise 7.99,5, rather than "widerstandlos" (adv.) with G.

APPENDIX. Haplology (on which see I, p. 279 III, p. 80 and 116 and passim) has often been accepted or propounded by G., in his translation, even if the notes do not mention it expressly. Among the cases pertaining to an internal syllable, the following are required by the translation or discussed in the notes:

ajuryamur 5.6,10 for *ajuryām yamuḥ*; *kānikr(ad)at* 9.63,20; *cakr(ad)ān* 10.95,12; *pāvīra(va)vān* (and *āpa°*) 10.60,3; *rujā(na)nāḥ* 1.32,6; *sādā(dā)naḥ* 7.33,12 (and *sādā(dā)van* 1.24,3 ?).

Cases concerning the initial or final syllable:

mūhu(kā) kā cit 4.20,9; *vānde(van)dārūm* 7.6,1; *śmaśā(ru) rudhat* 10.105,1; *sācā(ya)yōḥ* 10.105,4; *samudré(ṇa) nā* 3.36,7.

Cases concerning a whole word-form, often with different meaning or in different grammatical function :

kṛṣṇébhir (*aktā*) *aktóṣā rúsadbhiḥ* 1.62,8 ("night" and "dressed"); *yāmann*(*aktór*) *aktávaś cikitre* 10.3,4 ("night" and "rays"); *ajara* (*ajārān*) ... *pāri sánty ácyutāḥ* 10.115,4 ("not aging" and "flames"); *abhimāti*(*śāhām*) *sāhaḥ* 5.23,4; *tiráś cid* (*aryó*) *aryayā pári* 5.75,7 and *tiráś cid* (*aryó*) *aryé* 8.51,9 (*ari* and *aryá*); *giribhya ā* (*ā*) *samudrāt* 7.95,2 ("from" and "until"); *uśáso* (*uśáso*) *vyūṣṭiṣu* 10.35,5 (nomin. plur. and gen. sing.); *ṛbhavo* (*ṛbhúr*) *yá óhate* 10.65,10 (adj. and nomen proprium); *vāmasya hí kṣáyasya* (*kṣayasi*) 6.71,6 (substantive and verb; not mentioned G.); *ví yásya te jrayasānāsya* (*jráyah*) 10.115,4; *ririkvāṃsas tanvāḥ* (*tanvāḥ*) *kṛṇvata trām* 4.24,3 (accus. plur. and gen. sing.); *tām ahyān bhuriḥor dhiyā* (*dhiyā*) *saṃvāsānam vivāsvataḥ* 9.26,4; *uśāntā dūtā ná* (*ná*) *dābhāya gopā* 7.91,2 ("as" and "not"); *jāhāti vavrim pitúḥ* (*pitúr*) *eti niṣkṛtām* 9.71,2 ("father" and "nourishment"); *priyām* (*priyām*) *priyāḥ sāmaviśanta pāñca* 10.55,2; *sá cetayan mānuṣo* (*mānuṣo*) *yajñābandhuḥ* 4.1,9 ("of Manu" and "men"); *ā yān* (*yān*) *nákṣatram dáḍṛśe divó ná* 10.111,7 ("as" and "the coming..."); *pṛkṣēṇa yān* (*yān*) *maghavan hūyāmānaḥ* 10.28,3 (id.); *yā* (*yā*) *vīryāṇi prathamāni kártvā...saṃyātuh* 10. 113,7 (nomin. dual and nomin. plur. nt.); *śiśihi* (*rāyē*) *rāyā ā bhara* 1.81,7 (dat. sing. and accus. plur.); *ubhé yujanta ródasī* (*ródasī*) *suméke* 6.66,6; *ródasī* (*rodasī*) *ā vadatā...vidyūn ná tasthau maruto rátheṣu vaḥ* 1.64,9 (*ródasī* dual and *rodasī* fem. sing.); *kakṣivate* (*śatām*) *śatāhimāya gónām* 9.74,8; (*śévaḥ*) *śéva* 9.82,4 (the second word is accordingly accented); *āhināmnām hantā* (*hantā*) *vísvasyāsi soma dāsyoh* 9.88,4. In a last instance, the two word forms are somewhat less related: *sāhasaḥ* (*sūnūḥ*) *sūnáro nṛbhiḥ* 10.115,7.

Some of these passages are doubtful, but, inversely, further researches will conduce to the discovery of other cases of "Worthaplogie".¹

1. Being away from my personal library, I could not make use, for this paper, of the excellent translation of Indra's hymns by Prof. VELANKAR.

ON THE INTERNAL EXPANSION OF R̥GVEDIC FORMULAE

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In order to show by some convincing examples what have been the modes of expansion of formulae inside the *Ṛksamhitā*, we may select a very simple group, drawn from the 9th maṇḍala. The maṇḍala is the most linear of all, the most formulary, as it describes in endless repetitions and variants a comparatively limited scheme, to wit the series of operations concerning the preparation of soma. Of course, there are notable differences between the first part (1-67), made of hymns in gāyatrī or anuṣṭubh, of a generally plain kind, with restricted variations and moderated images; the central part (68-97) in jagatī (triṣṭubh), rich in figures of style, double meanings, complicated sentences; the last section (98-114) being somewhat intermediary. But these differences do not affect the internal unity of the maṇḍala. They only concern the manner of presentation.

The operation of straining or filtering is as follows: the strainer (*pavitra*) is an implement made of sheep's hair (*avyāya vāra*); the soma-juice that has been extracted by pressing is being poured on it. Straining has in view to clear the juice of filaments and impurities it contains (the term for impurity is *ripṛā* 78,1,¹ filaments are called *śāryāni*² 14,4 and perhaps also *pārus* 15,6; more generally, *vavri*³ ["hull, husk"] 69,9 and 71, 2). So that the juice is decanted and clarified: that being indicated by the verb *pū-*, with its double form *pavate* (intransitive) and *punāti* (transitive-facitive), recalling the nominal correlative *pavitra*, properly "implement for clarifying". The soma runs in a circle (*pāri*) on the surface of the strainer and goes in a continuous stream (*dhārayā*: a form limited to the 9th maṇḍ., except for 3, 36, 7) into the large tun situated underneath.

Firstly we take the verb *pū-*. It yields to a limited number of remarks. The intransitive middle (*pavate*) points unvaryingly at the soma "being clarified". There is a single active form, the imperative 2nd sing. *pava*, at the end of the pāda; evidently a reduced form ("syncopated final", as it may be

1. Quotations without references to a maṇḍala are taken from the 9th maṇḍala.
2. As GELDNER observes ad loc., the formula *śāryāni tānvā* is equivalent to *śārīra* of an analogous passage TB. 3.7,13,2. Thus the original meaning of *śārīra* may be "(impure) particles clinging to the body."
3. Out of the 9th maṇḍ., *vavri* means "bodily frame, body", combining so to say in itself the doublet *śārya* / *śārīra*.

called) for *pavasva*: in *ghṛtām pavasva...asmābhyaṃ vṛṣṭīm ā pava* 49,3, *ā pava* counterbalances, so to say, *pavasva*.

Pavate becomes transitive when it is accompanied by the preverbs *abhī pári* and especially *ā*, which, according to the well-known usage, amount to signify "to procure (such or such goods) by being clarified", as *ā-śiśhi* is "procure (goods) by sharpening", *abhyārṣati* "procure (goods) by pouring", etc. Still the intransitive meaning is sometimes preserved, at least with *ā*: 25, 6 = 50,4, 66,15, 70,10, 80,3, 84,4. Inversely *pavate* alone may sometimes be equal to *ā-pavate*, for instance in *pavate...mādhū* 85,4, 86,10 or in *vṛṣṭīm divāḥ...pavasva* 96,14, 103,10. GELDNER hesitates between "to give by clearing" and "to clear in view of" (at least, with *abhī-pavate*). That means he understands *abhī* as a preposition. In fact, the distinction between preverb, preposition and adverb (or particle) is impossible to trace with strictness: in this respect as in many others, the Rġvedic language is in a transitional and flowing stage. But, in all probability, these elements are felt as preverbs: the use of *abhī pári ā* is exactly parallel to the use of *prá* or *sám*, which cannot be prepositions (nor adverbs). It would be futile to mark the first *abhī* as a preverb, the second as a preposition, in a case like *abhī sómā-saḥ...pāvante...abhī kósam* 23,4, which I would translate "the soma-juices procure the intoxication by clearing, they reach the tun (by clearing)", rather than "they clear in view of the intoxication, in view of the tun"; certainly not "they procure the intoxication, towards the tun" (giving to the two *abhīs* two distinct values). In the frequent sentences of the type *abhī vāyūm...arṣa...abhī...abhī...abhī* 97,49, *abhī vástrā...arṣa...abhī...abhī...abhī* 50, *abhī no arṣa divyā vásūny abhī...abhī...abhī* 51, etc., the latter *abhīs* are preverbs just as the first ones, so that according to our way of writing we should expect *abhī...arṣa*, *abhyārṣa...abhyārṣa*, etc. It is but an application of the well-known elliptic use of the Vedic preverb.

If *pavate* is sometimes used instead of *ā-pavate* (in a dozen of passages), it is due to a reducing of the means of expression, for which we find numerous instances in the language of the Samhitā. The poet does not care much in saying *ā pavasva mahīm īsam* 41,4 rather than *pavasva brhatīr īsaḥ* (without *ā*) 13,4. In one and the same hemistich, we happen upon *mādhvaḥ sūdam pavasva vásva útsam* 97,44 besides *vīrām ca na ā pavasvā bhágam ca*: is the preverb *ā* to be treated as valid in advance with the first *pavasva*? It does not matter much for the linguistic analysis, as it did certainly not matter much to the Vedic seers.

Note that the participle *pávamāna* is of a uniform value, as it is often the case with Rġvedic participles: it does not allow preverb, nor any transitive usage.

The form *pavate* is almost confined to the 9th maṇḍala. The rare forms outside attest a secondary development of the formulae. Thus we have *pavante* 10.3,5 said of Agni's rays: we shall notice hereafter the assimilation of soma to the sun, which is at the starting-point of the above phraseology. Agni is often called *pāvakā*, an epithet occurring too, but rather seldom, in the 9th maṇḍ., where it is restricted to soma. In 4.58,9 the formula *ghṛtāsya dhārā abhi tāt pavante* is only an extension of *sómāsaḥ ... pavante* and the like, in the 9th maṇḍ. (cf. at the same passage, *yātra sómāḥ sūyāte*, setting the prevalent tone). From the *ghṛtā*, the formula could easily pass to the thoughts, as in 6.10,2 *ghṛtām ná śúci matáyāḥ pavante* "(my) thoughts (or: poetical works) clear themselves in a pure manner, like *ghṛtā*": but here we tackle the clarification of thoughts, an idea already common to the 9th maṇḍ. and which we shall later deal with.

A last abnormal passage is 10.128,2 (again in the 10th maṇḍ.), the only one where the post-Rgvedic usage of *pavate* "to blow" (said of the wind) is anticipated (cf. also *pavana* "wind", from the Epics, but "strainer", = *pavitra*, in the AV. and other Vedic texts). The literal meaning of 10.128,2 *māhyam vātaḥ pavatām kāme asmín* is "may the wind become clear for me in this (mine) desire", that is to say "may my desire be fulfilled": it is but a development of the shades of meaning so often attested in the 9th maṇḍ., where the soma is urged "to clear for us goods or richness or glory", for instance *sá víśvā dāśúṣe vāsu sómāḥ ... pavatām* 36,5.

Other formulae outside the 9th maṇḍ. contain *pavate* with the ordinary value. If, in that very maṇḍ., we find once *pávamāna* as an epithet of Agni or other gods (5,1 sqq.), we must remember that we have to do with an Āpri-hymn, being adapted (as Ge. rightly observes) to the *pāvamānī*-pattern.

The transitive form *punāti* (the middle voice being rare in the indicative, with reflexive or passive meaning; but more frequent in the participle *punāná*, also reflexive or passive) is "to clarify (the soma)", said of the priest. But the application of the form goes, much more than for *pavate*, beyond the limits of the maṇḍala and beyond the matter of soma. Thus here and there the idea is to be found that the soma "clarifies (*punāti*) the thought (*manīṣā*) or the inspiration" (*krātu*, properly "the inspiring power"). In the middle voice there is *krátum punaté* 8.53,6 and elsewhere. In the active, *punatī dhītīḥ* (with *krátvā* besides) 4.5,7 said of "the thought clarifying through the inspiration". With other contexts, *avadyāni punānāḥ* 6.66,4 "purifying of any stain", *várṇam punānā* 2.3,5 "hallowing their own caste" and several other instances.

In the 9th maṇḍ., the use of *punāti* is confined to the proper sense, except that we have *vācam punanti kaváyo manīṣīṇaḥ* 73,7: this passage,

where *pavítre* is given in the immediate context, emphasizes the connection between the clarification of soma and the clarification of speech (accompanying the soma-cult). It is said that the soma is made clear (*punāná*) by the *matís* 96,15: a very common mode of expression in the 9th maṇḍ., reflecting the idea that the poet's words strengthen, embellish and adequately prepare the soma. The expansion is hardly sensible in a passage where it is said that the "cows", viz. the flows of milk, "clear themselves" 24,2 and 89,5. Note that the participle *punāná* is equal to *pāvamāna*, except the occasional presence of an instrumental, which *pāvamāna* never shows. Note also that the stanzas 67,22 sqq. bring up the clarification through Agni and at the same time the clarification through the prompting (*savá*) of higher formulations (*bráhmaṇ*). But these are supplementary stanzas, cf. Ge. ad loc.

Compared with *pavate* and *punāti*, other forms of *pū-* are few: an aorist in *-iṣ-* (active and middle) in the 9th maṇḍ., a reduplicate aorist, a passive (*pūyate* in the 9th maṇḍ., except 4,58,6 being figurative), a past participle *pūtá*, mostly outside the 9th, with an extended application, similar to *punāná*.

Pavā "clarification" may be an *Augenblicksbildung* (97,52 sq.); also probably *°pāvá* "clarifying" (86,43).

The derivative *pavítra* consistently designates the "strainer", including the rare examples outside the 9th maṇḍ. Sometimes the image of a spiritual "strainer" or "filter" is integrated within, the strainer that clears thoughts or poems, as 73,7 and 9, or in the above-mentioned additional stanzas, where the question is of the flaming strainer (of Agni). As we have seen, Agni has been considered as a *pavítra*. Thus arise diverse "institutions" or "processes" (*dhāman*) of clarification: the clarification through the strainer (or the ritual one), the clarification through the poetical inspiration, and a third one, transcending the other two (67,26). Hence the word *pavítra* occurs in plural (final *-ebhiḥ* in the 9th maṇḍ., new final *-aiḥ* elsewhere), partly with the number "three", 73,8 97,55; also, out of the 9th maṇḍ., 3,1,5; 31,16 (where the formula *kavíbhiḥ pavitrāiḥ* means, according the largely used trope, * *kavínām pavitrāiḥ*); 26,8; 36, 7 — thus, in the 3rd maṇḍ. only. The expression "the three strainers" may signify, through a kind of valorization, the strainer *par excellence*, that one situated in the thought or, as it is said, in the heart.

The soma is occasionally *pavítraratha* (development of the figuration of soma as a king) in the 9th maṇḍ.; or, more simply, *pavítravant*, *ibid.*: but Agni also is *pavítravant* in the 1st maṇḍ., because he "clears" the world of

gloom. In the 10th, the two unnamed beings that are *pavitravant* are the *adhvaryus* occupied with the soma-cult.

To come to the process of straining, the simplest formula is *sómaḥ pavitra arṣati* or *akṣarat* (*akṣāḥ*), *passim*; or again, *pári śicyate*, (*ni*) *tośate*. Now and again the verb is in the imperative mood. We also find *ṣṛja* (*asarji*). The locative *pavitre* is often reinforced by *ā* (*ādhi*), stating that a movement is in view.

There is further the accusative *pavītram*, as object of a verb "to go" or implicitly giving the meaning of "going", *gacchati dhāvati páryeti átyeti—āśadat*; also *āti...asṛkṣata* 107,25 *āti gāhate* 67,20 *abhyundatāḥ* 61,4 *āti...akramāt* 45,4.

The typical preverb is *āti*, which, isolated even, may signify "(to pass) through (the strainer)" 36,2 and elsewhere; sometimes there is *tiráś* with the same connotation, or perhaps *pārā* 71,7. The preverb *pári*, being alone, suggests the circulation of the soma around the strainer 69,6.

Epithets of *pavitra* are few: *sahásradhāra* 73,7 multiplying the concept of *dhārayā*, *passim*, or *śāśvatā tánā* 1,6. The word *sahásradhāra* alone is able to recall to mind the idea of *pavitra* 73,4 and 74,6. Further, *māhina* (*pavitra* being understood) 82,2; on *avyāya*, see below. But *vītata* is more than an epithet 83,1, cf. Ge. ad 10,5 discussing the meaning of *vī-tan-* in connection with the strainer. It refers to the fact that "the strainer is stretched", like the sacrifice itself, whose symbol the *pavitra* is. In the above-said passage (83,1) the *pavitra* of Brahmanaspati is dealt with, representing the inspired speech. Thus the *pavitra* is a "thread" (*tántu*), along which the soma-juices follow their path 22,6 (*tántum tanvānām uttamām ānu*), a supreme or ideal thread that the soma twangs like the strained string (*tatām tántum*, *ibid.* 7) of an instrument of music. The same expression is found again 69,6 83,2 (with the above-mentioned figurative sense of 83,1). The formula *ṛtasya tántur vītataḥ pavitra ā* 73,9 emphasizes the connection between *tántu*-strainer and *tántu*-sacrifice. Lastly the *vītata tántu* of 86,32 is *trivṛt*—a celestial characteristics—: the sun-rays serve as "strainer" for the soma; cf. 66,5 where it is said "the clear rays (of soma) spread a strainer at the back of the sky", this strainer being of course the sun itself (cf. 10, 5).

The word *pavitra* is replaced by a small number of equivalents. The more usual is *vāra* "hair", sing. and plur., masc. and neuter (the gender being mostly indiscriminable). *Vāra* is often accompanied by *avyāya* "of

sheep" (derivative of the same fashion as *gavyāya* or *hiranyāya*), or by *āvya* (made on *āvi*, as *aryā* on *arī*, etc.), or lastly by *āvyaḥ*, genitive of *āvi* itself. These forms are mostly used with *vāra*, the dominant formulae being *vāre avyāye* (*āvyaḥ*), *vāraṇy avyāyā*, *āvyo vārebhiḥ* (*vāreṣu*), *vāram avyāyam* (*āvyaḥ*, *āvyaḥ*). Sporadically: *avyāyam pavītram* 49,4 66,28, *rūpé* (a rather vague noun) *avyāye* 16,6, *rómāṇy* (*róman* = *vāra*) *avyāyā* 62,8 (and even out of the 9th maṇḍ.: 1.135,6), *nirṇīg avyāyī* 70,7 (*nirṇīg* usually denoting in the 9th maṇḍ. the feast-garment of soma, viz. the milk), *sānu* ... *avyāyam* 86,8 (and 3) and *sāno āvye* (with a peculiar locative ending) 97,16 (and 19). In the expression *āvyaṇi* (with abnormal accent) *pāvyaṇi* 86, 34, the hapax *pāvya* seems to be a substitute for *pavā*, attracted by a riming tendency with *āvya*.

The locative *āvye*, by itself, evokes the strainer 66,9 69,3 86,13 98,3 (also *āvyaḥ* 107,17). Likewise *avyāya* 98,2 (remotely supported by *vārman* "cuirass"). Lastly *āvi* occurs as nomin. sing. 78,1, in the same meaning. The plural *āvibhiḥ* is due to the adjacency of *sīndhubhiḥ*, *adbhiḥ* (*gōbhiḥ*) 86,11 91,2; it looks like the frequent plural *gāvaḥ* designating the milk mixed with soma; but *āvibhiḥ* is alone 107,2. In the formula *āvya éṣi sānavi* 50,2, we might hesitate between *āvi* and *āvya*, but for the *padapāṭha*: in fact, the genitive *āvyaḥ* is only associated with *vāra*. We have once *ādhi ṣṇūbhīr āvīnām* 107,8, with two plurals. *Āvyo vāraiḥ* (as it has been said) occurs only once outside the 9th maṇḍ. (viz., 8.2,2) and consists of a mere allusion to the operations described in that maṇḍala. More remotely, in 10.26,6, the matter is of Pūṣaṇ weaving the garment of sheep: according to Sāyaṇa, the image alludes to the woollen strainer. Lastly the words *mahām āvīnām ānu* (*pavasva*) 109,7 are enough, without any more precise term, to evoke the soma-strainer. Combining *āvi* and the preverb *āti*, we find in several instances *ātyavi*, as an epithet of the (clarified) soma-juice.

The above-said formula "the back of sheep" suggests that, either with *āvi* and its derivatives (examples above), or alone, the word *sānu*/*snū* will be able to suggest the notion of the strainer. Thus *tām sāvān ādhi* ... *hinvarianti* 26,5. But already in 95,4 *sānu* forms a play with the idea of the "plateau" (on which the buffalo moves; the word "mountain" occurs in the stanza). The expression *vārṣiṣṭhe ādhi sānavi* 31,5 can likewise denote the strainer, and at the same time, the mount where the soma grows, or even, figuratively, the celestial space (like *uttamāyā* 22,6). The instrumental *snūnā* (in *ādhi ṣṇūnā*) borders upon *sāno āvye* 97,16 and 19. In any way, the acceptation "strainer", for *sānu* (*snū*), is confined to the 9th maṇḍ., and is constant there (cf. Ge. ad 37,4, the only passage which may be questioned). It is one of the many cases of semantic cleavage between the 9th maṇḍ. and the remaining parts of the Saṃhitā.

Besides *ávi*, *meśá* "ram" is to be found, although much more rarely. The feminine *meśī* 8,5 (why the feminine?) also designates the hair of sheep used as a strainer. The complete phrase is *áṇvāni meśyāḥ* 86,47 and 107,11. *A'ṇva*, literally "object made of fine (elements)", occurs even alone, to note the strainer, 10,5 16,2 91,3. With the same meaning the fem. *áṇvī* is found 14,6 15,1 38,1, even though the plural 1,3,4 (out of the 9th maṇḍ.) is "fingers".

We have seen *rómāny avyáyā* (repeated 1.135,6); the term occurs once again in *tiró róma pavate* "it clears through the hair" 97,11.

Uncertain are the following words:

śritī 14,6, which is better to separate from the next word *áṇvyā* (in spite of Ge. who translates "feinster Zugang" for both), and has been adapted to mean by itself (at least, as a secondary meaning) "strainer" (properly "entering" ?);

śétu "bridge", or rather "dam", with the epithet *durāvī* "difficult to approach" 41,2 (otherwise, Ge.);

hvāras, through the intermediate meaning "meander", may have signified "strainer" in three formulae (*āti hvārāṃsi*) of the 9th maṇḍ.; elsewhere, the word has its ordinary meaning "perfidious enmity", which does not exist in the 9th. By the way, some other words for "obstacle" might have adjusted themselves to suggest the idea of "strainer";

Lastly, *vidharman* "extension in the space" (Ge. ad 86, 29), appears, in the phrase *rájaso vidharmaṇi* 86,30, to be glossed by *pavitre*. Here and there the strainer is figured by the sky or by the two coupled worlds (cf. for instance 107, 24); it is, of course, the celestial strainer, viz. the sun.⁴

Of all these words, the only one which has a chance to be an authentic appellation for "strainer" is *títai*, probably an anaryan name, occurring as a hapax in the 10th maṇḍala: it denotes the sieve or bolter (for flour).

This small enquiry enables us to see how R̥gvedic words and meanings are, so to say, developing by an internal process, passing from one formula to another. In general, the phrases relating to the soma outside the 9th maṇḍala look like something secondary, like "un corps étranger", due to the influence of the *pāvamānī*-sections. But these very sections, in return, have also been influenced, here and there, by other parts of the Saṃhitā.

4. To suppress *párus* and *vavri*, given by GRASSMANN (cf. above, p. 17).

REMARKABLE WORDS FROM BĀṢKALA (B), CHAGALEYA (CH), ĀRṢEYA (Ā), AND ŚAUNAKA (S) UPANIṢADS

(according to the edition by S. K. BELVALKAR, *Four Unpublished Upaniṣadic Texts*, Madras, 1925).

BY

LOUIS RENOU, Paris

N.B.a) Some variants, indicated by asterisks, are taken from *Unpublished Upanishads*, edited by the Pandits of Adyar Library, Adyar, 1933.

b) The mention "Tsuji" refers to the study on the Bāṣkala procured by prof. N. TSUJI, *Miyamoto Comm. Vol.*, Tōkyō, 1954, pp. 3-17; the same, to the edition of the Chāgaleya procured by the same scholar, *Ui Comm. Vol.*, Tōkyō, 1951, pp. 1-19.

c) For convenience, the paragraphs in the prose-texts have been numbered from 1 to 7 (Chāgaleya), from 1 to 9 (Ārṣeya), from 1 to 4 (Śaunaka).

d) Forms given without meaning (or the meaning being given between brackets) are quoted from a purely morphological point of view.

acchāvada = *acchāvāka* (n. of an officiant) Ch 3; 5

addhā (Rgved. particle) B 3; 6; 9; 10

adhyavasāya determination Ā 9

anaddha (Tsuji; Belv. *ānaddha*) untied Ch 7

anāramba (**anārambha*) which cannot be engulfed (?) Ā 3

**anāśvas* (Belv. *adāśvas*) not having eaten B 20

anupatasthi not having worshipped (with Acc.) B 6 (Tsuji ex conj.: *anupatasthe*)

anvābhakta accompanied (by a tune) Ś 2

apa (with Abl.) counter to Ch 1

apatant never falling (chariot) B 16

apojjhita abandoned by (with Instr.) Ch 7 (bis; once, ex conj.)

apranāya without having led (thee) B 7

abhikīrtay- to pronounce (someone, *nāmagrāham* by taking his name) Ś 1

- abhitvara* suffering no routing (?) Ś 1
abhipraṇutya which is to be impelled (of everything), or: to be praised?
 (ep. of the Ātman) Ā 9
abhivartana (pl.) (mantras) by which the Fire is circumambulated Ch. 3; 5
abhiṣāvitra (pl.) (mantras) by which the juice of Soma is pressed Ch. 3
 (ex conj.); 5
abhisṛtvā approaching Ch 6
abhika situated near by B 12
ayant: *anv ayantam* not going B 4
ayas: Dat. *ayase* for (thy) welfare B 22
arin (*arī or *ari) wheel (of a chariot) Ch 6
avas: *avase janānām* for the protection of men B 12 Ā 9
avāya understanding B 2
avoda giving nourishment (or: eating n° ?) B 8
 1 AS—: (*vy*) *aśnuvāna* B 18
 with *pari* B 20
 1 AS—: *asat* (conjunct.) B 19
 2. AS—: (*ud*) *asyamāna* B 3
asamvatsaravāsin who has not resided (as pupil) for a year Ch 5
asamvida ignorant Ā 6

āṇḍakośa pl. (or du. ?) B 9
ādis sub-intermediate quarter B 17
āntarikṣya of the mid-region B 13
āpi friend B 13
āśira (prob.) = *āśir* B 8
 AS—: *ādhvai* (conjunct.) Ch. 1 *upādhvai* (id.) Ch 4
upāse (2nd sg. med.) Ā 4; 6
āsan: Loc: sg. *āsan* B 8

 I—: *adhādhvai* (conjunct.) Ch 1
vīte (it goes away, 3rd sg. med.) Ch 7
atīyīmahi (opt. med.) Ā 1
itthā (Rgved. particle) B 2; 7; 11; 18
itthā pathaḥ here on the way (Tsuji) B 6
id (Rgved. particle) B 1 and passim
 INDH—: (*abhi...*) *aidhīt* (aor. act.) B 15

 ĪKṢ—: *abhisamākṣām āsuḥ* (periphr. perf.) Ch 4
 IṢ—: *īse* (3rd sg.) B 12
īśimahi (opt.) Ā 1
neśe (with Accus.) (he) cannot claim to B 12

u (Rgved. particle) B 8 and passim

uta (Rgved. particle) B 14; 20

upaghāta (Tsuji, ex conj., ms. having *upavatva*) n. of a rite Ch 2 (bis)

upamantraṇa (ex conj.) pl. (mantras) by which the juice of Soma is dedicated Ch. 3; 5

upaśraddhin full of credence Ch. 4

upasṛtvāra advancing Ch 6

Ūlumbha (? **Kulumbha*) n. of a barbaric tribe Ā 6

ŪH—: apohya (abs.) (removing) Ch. 7

ṛgmin (Rgvedic term) Ā 9

ṛgyajusa nt. sg. *ṛc* and *yajus*-formulae Ch. 1; nt. pl. id. Ch. 2 *ṛtīyamāna* true to the *Ṛta* B 24 (Tsuji: *ṛtīyamāna* ex conj.)

Ailūṣa v. *Kavaṣa*

aupayāma pl. (mantras) by which the juice of Soma is ladled out Ch 3 (ex conj.); 5

Kavaṣa Ailūṣa n. of a sage Ch 1

kāṣṭhā race-ground B 15

kuha where B 5; *kuhā cid* B 5

kūbarin chariot (-frame) Ch 6; 7

KṚ—: niṣ-kṛ- to repay (a teaching) Ch 7

KṚS—: kṛṣṇanti (to plough) (?) Ā 1

KRAM—: caṅkramasi B 2 (*abhi*) *caṅkramāti* B 3 *caṅkrama(n)t* Ch 6

KRĪD—: sam...krīdet, saṃkrīḍati, saṃkrīḍant (said of the sound of a chariot) Ch 6

kvāṇana creeking (of a chariot) Ch 7

KṢI—: abhikṣiyant (in-dwelling) Ā 9

KHAN—: with ni, caus. °khānayanti (to infix) Ā 1

gamadhyayī to be attained (? to read *gamadhyai*?) Ā 9

GUP—: ajūgapat (aor.) Ś 4

guhā in a hiding place B 18

go chant B 15; 20

GRANTH—: abhigranth- to secure (with straps) Ā 1

GRABH—: ajagrabhīt (ppperf.) B 20

GHAS—: akṣan (3rd pl. aor.; or, with Belv., *a-kṣan* they devour not?) B 21

anukṣam (1st sg. aor.) I devour (them) in succession B 21

CAKṢ—: (vi)cakṣe (1st sg.) (I look upon) B 12; (vi)cakṣe (3rd sg.; perf. without reduplic. ? Tsuji) B 4; (vi)cakṣan (partic. nom. msc. sg.) B 8; cakṣva (imper.; understand) B 23; (vi) cakṣema (*vicakṣata) Ch 4
carmakīla (nt. sg. ?) thong and yokepin Ch 7

CĀKAŚ—: cākaśāna B 6; abhicākaśāna B 11; cākaśyamāna Ā 5

CIT—: vicikitsīḥ (with mā, do not doubt) B 23

CHID—: with Abl. (dākṣāyāḥ, ex conj.) to debar from Ch 1

jani what is being (contrasted with jātam and janiṣyamāṇam) B 23

JVAL—: jājvalyamāna Ā 5

TAN—: (ā)tātāna (partic. med.) B 12

tanu: Accus. tanvam B 16

tamana suffocating (Tsuji; ep. of Indra) B 1; n. of Yama (Tsuji) B 24

tukā v. stukā

turāṣāḥ (Rgved. term) B 4

tvat tvad one after another B 21

ḍavīyasitamā (when) most distant (fem.) Ā 7

DAH—: dhākṣīran (*ācakṣīran) (opt. med. aor.) Ā 7

DĀ—: with prati-sam: pratisamdadat (imperf. without augment) he sent against (them) Ś 3

DĀŚ—: dāśvas B 11; 17 (dāśuṣaḥ as Nom. pl. ?); 20

dāvan giver (with Gen.) B 8

div (dyū): dyā(h) Acc. pl.; (dyām Belv. ex conj.) B 1

DIŚ—: with prati-sam to set (the gāyatrī or the jagatī) against Ś 1; 4

DĪKṢ—: dīkṣadhvai (conjunct.) Ch 2

DĪP—: dedīpyamāna Ā 5

DRŚ—: adīdṛśata (2nd pl. redupl. aor., ex conj.) (have you seen) Ch 7
dadaśre (sic) (3rd sg. perf. med.) B 11

DYUT—: didyutāna B 16

DRU—: sampradravate (3rd sg. med. ?) to galopp Ch 6 (bis)
dviṣaḍāra of twice six spokes B 16

DHĀ—: with adhi-ni, caus. (°dhāpayati) to place at the head Ś 1 (*abhini-dhāpayati)

DHI—: dhinuyuh (opt.) B 17

na = iva B 15

naddhi strap Ch 7

NĪ—: nayātai (conjunct.) B 5

- with *upāva* (med.) to associate with (Instr.) § 4
- NU—: with *upa*, *upanvanti* (3rd pl.) they associate (the chant with, Instr.) § 4; *upanvīta* (opt. med.) (one) should associate (the chant with) § 4
- nunna* started (said of a chant) § 1
- ṛcakṣas* (Rgved. term) B 4; 25
- nedīyasītāmā* (when) most near (fem.) Ā 7
- padvīśikā* leg-fastener Ā 1
- PAT—: *udapatiṣanta* (aor. med.) (to rise up) § 4 (**udapatiṣyanta*)
- path*: Acc. sg. *panthām* B 22 Ch. 6 (**panthānam*)
- PAD—: with *vi*, *vīva* *padyat* (imperf. act. without augment, he would come by grief) Ā 2
- para*: Instr. sg. *parā* (with the Supreme) Ā 8
- paryāraṇa* all-pervading (?) B 25
- PAS—: (*saṃ*)*paśyadhvai* (conjunct.) Ch. 3
- PUṢ—: *pupuṣyān* (3rd pl. opt.; *pupuṣvān* Tsuji, ex conj.) B 16
- PRCCH—: (*pari*)*prāt* (3rd aor. sg. aor. without augment ?) B 1
- praṇīti*: Instr. sg. *praṇīti* (Rgvedic form) B 24 (stem *praṇītin* Tsuji, with doubt)
- pratipada*: Instr. sg. *pratipadena* by steps Ā 9
- pratisṛtvāra* adversary Ch 6
- prabhīmakarman* of terrific exploits (ep. of Indra) B 4
- pravati* (fem.) = Rgv. *pravat* B 13
- prasatvant* full of grace (?) (*prasadvant* Tsuji, ex conj.) B 25
- prasuraṇa* all-spreading (ep. of the Ātman) Ā 9
- prasāsahi* conquering (ep. of Indra) B 4 Ā 9
- PLU—: **poplūyayanti* (sic, 3rd pl.) to drown into Ā 1 (*poplūlayanti* Belv.)
- phali*(n) plough-share Ā 1
- bālīsa* (pl.) n. of ascets leading the life of children Ch. 4; 5; 7
- BṚH—: *bābṛhāṇa* (becoming mighty) Ā 9
- bhara*: *bhare-bhareṣu* (āmreḍ. Loc.) (at each war-time) Ā 9
- BHID—: (*pra*...) *abhidam* (1st sg. aor.) B 10
- bhuvana*: Acc. pl. *bhuvanā* (with *viśvā*) B 8; 11
- bhū*: Dat. *bhuve* for (your) good luck B 22
- BHŪ—: *bobhavīmi* B 11; *bobhavīt* (injunct.) B 18; *bobhuve* (1st sg. med., or infin.?) B 22
- with infin. to succeed to B 18
- bhūbhramśa* (ex conj., Tsuji) falling to earth Ch 7
- BHRAM—: *bambhramyamāṇa* Ā 5

mayasvin effulgent (ep. of *brahman* nt.) B 3

mahāvīrasambharaṇa (pl.) (mantras) to accompany the decorating of the
mahāvīra pot Ch. 3; 5

MUH—: *amuhan* (aor.) Ch. 3

MR—: *avamriyate* (to die) Ā 4

MRD—: **abhimṛdnāti* (to crush) Ch 6 (bis)? (*abhighṛnāti* Belv.)

MRŚ—: *abhimarśam* (absol.) (ex conj., Tsuji; Belv. °*marśya*) Ch 7
meṣabhūya the becoming a goat B 1

YUJ—: (*ni*)*yuje* (perf. without redupl., or infin.?) B 1 (**niyuyuje*)

rājābhikrayaṇa (pl.) (mantras) by which king Soma is purchased Ch 3; 5

RIC—: *vaco recay-* to make (oneself's) speech useless (Tsuji) Ch 4

riṣ—: Instr. *riṣā* (in wrath) B 3 (or Nom. sg. *riṣā*? Tsuji)

RU—: *ruruvīta* (3rd sg. opt. perf. med.) Ch 7

LABH—: with *sam-anv-ā* (med.) to take hold of Ś 1

LAL—: *ullalantī* (ex conj.) Ch 6

LIS—: *vyaṣṭa* (3rd sg. med.) (to tumble down) Ch 7

LIH—: *lelihāna* suffusing (everything, said of the *brahman*) (?) Ā 5

lokamprṇā: Instr. *-nā* (?) B 15

vaṅkṣaṇā = Rgv. *vaṅśāṇā* B 10

vaddhrī fetter Ā 1

VAN—: *upavanvīmaḥi* (opt.) (we can attain) Ā 4

varatrikā covering (of a chariot) Ch 7

3 VAS—: (to reside): *avātta* (3rd pl. aor. med.? or rather 2nd pl. aor. act.)
Ch. 6

VAH—: *vaham* (injunct.) B 13

vāhliya (horse) from Balkh (Tsuji) Ch 6

vighasa devourer (ep. of the Ātman) Ā 9

vijitīya victorious Ā 1

1 VID— (to known): *avidam* (with Gen.) B 14

apa...samvidrate (to seek away) Ā 8

vidharana sustainer (ep. of the Supreme God) B 24

vinaddhi free from the bond (Tsuji; ep. of the Supreme God) B 23

virapśin (Rgved. term) B 9

viśvaśāstrī ruler of all B 24

viśvagūti (comp.?) protection everywhere B 11

1 VR— (to cover): *vivar* (ex conj., Tsuji) from *vi-VR-* (to dispell) B 7

VYADH—: (*apa*) *viddhāt* (conjunct.; °*vidhyāt* Tsuji, ex conj.) B 4

vyāvāya beyond understanding B 2

śaphā = *śapha* Ch 6

śarāru beast of prey B 21

śavaśayita whose corpse is lying Ch 2; 3; (with *aśayīṣṭa*) 5

Śī—: *āśayadhyai* (infin.) B 18

śunaka (pl.) n. of ṛṣis Ch 3

ŚUṢ—: *upaśuṣyate* (to diminish the speed? Tsuji; Belv. °*ghuṣyate* ex conj.)
Ch 6 (bis)

śūka doubt, or sorrow B 7

sarira flood B 14

sarvavittama most wise of all B 3

śīm (Rgved. particle) B 7 (*kiṃ śīm*); 10

SIV—: *abhiṣṭvayanti* (to tie up) Ā 1

sū (Nom. *sūḥ*) mother B 13

sṛmāra deer (?) B 21

SKAND—: *upaskandant* (bounding) Ch 6; *upaskandam* (absol) (id.) Ch
6 (bis)

stukā (or, *tukā*?) drop of water (?) B 13

STHĀ—: *upasthiṣata* (3rd pl. aor.; **upāsthiṣata*) Ch 7

SPHŪRJ—: *avasphūrjayamāna* throbbing Ā 1.

visphūrjayat (partic.) quiver Ā 8

SMI—: *smiyāna* (partic. perf. without redupl.?) B 7

svapitr sleeping B 5

SVR—: *svārayati* to cause (him) to be put into tune (with...) Ś 4

1 *HĀ*—; *saṃjihāna* devouring Ā 7

HI—: *prāhaiṣīt* Ch 4 (*prāhaiyāt* Belv. with doubt)

HŪ—: *āhvayitavā ūcuḥ* they maintained a challenging discourse Ā 1

ON THE WORDS KARMA AND SAMSĀRA

By

H. G. NARAHARI, Poona

The word *Karma* has quite a long history beginning from the age of the Ṛgveda where it appears nearly fifty times. In the other Saṁhitās the word is seen at least as many times; in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas it appears at least five hundred times; and in the Upaniṣads it occurs nearly one hundred and fifty times. The word is derived from the root *kr*, 'to do', and etymologically means 'deed' or 'action'; but it has many technical senses associated with it.

Throughout the pre-Upaniṣadic period the word is generally understood in its etymological sense. But frequently¹ it has also the special significance of a 'holy deed' or 'sacrificial act.'

The Mīmāṃsakas make an elaborate classification² of Action (*Karma*) though it is clear that their primary interest³ is with the Vedic (*Vaidika*) acts rather than with the ordinary worldly (*laukika*) acts with which their philosophy has little to do. Now, the Vedic acts may first be classified accordingly as they are positive (*Pravṛtti*) or negative (*Nivṛtti* or *Pratiṣedha*). The former of these can be further sub-divided into those undertaken for the sake of the Agent (*Puruṣārtha*); and those for the sake of the offering (*Kratvartha*). These in turn have their own minor sub-divisions.

Another division of the *Vaidika Karma* is into Primary (*Pradhāna* or *Artha*) and Secondary (*Guṇa*); the former is defined as that which is not meant to be productive of material substances (*yair dravyam na cikīrṣyate*), and the latter as that which is so productive (*yais tu dravyam cikīrṣyate*);⁴ the former are capable of bringing about an *Apūrva* directly, while the latter only serve to purify and render fit for use certain sacrificial materials.⁵

1. There are abundant references even in the Ṛgveda.

2. *Mīmāṃsāparibhāṣā* of Kṛṣṇayajvan (Calcutta, 1875), pp. 17 ff.; *Mīmāṃsābālā-prakāśa* of Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara (Benares, 1902), pp. 81 ff.; Ganganath JHA, Introduction to *Śloka-vārtika* (Trans.), pp. xxiii ff.; A. B. Keith, *Karmamīmamsa*, pp. 85 ff.

3. cf. KEITH, *loc. cit.*

4. Jaimini, *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtras*, II, 1, 7-8.

5. *Ibid.*, and commentaries thereon like the *Tantravārtika* and the *Śāstradīpikā*.

The Secondary (*Guṇa*) karma is twofold; it sanctifies either the materials being used (*pratipattikarma*) or those to be used hereafter (*upayokṣyamāṇasaṁskāra*), and further minute classification of both is also possible. According to another scheme of classification *Guṇakarma* is four-fold: it may be (1) productive (*utpatti*) as in the case of the consecration ceremony of the three sacred fires, *Āhavanīya*, *Gārhapatya* and *Dakṣiṇāgni* by injunctions like *agnīnādadhāta*; (2) acquisitive (*āpti*) like the acquisition of the Veda by study, indicated by such passages as *svādhyāyo'dhjetavyaḥ*; (3) modificatory (*vikṛti*) like the threshing of the corn (*vṛhīnāvahanti*) which removes its chaff and thus produces a modification in it; (4) purificatory (*saṁskṛti*) like the sprinkling of water over corn, a process which is calculated to produce a particular kind of sanctity in it.

Primary Actions (*Artha Karma*) are of three kinds: they are either (1) necessary or obligatory (*nitya*) like the obligatory performance of *Agnihotra*, morning and evening, till the end of one's life; (2) or periodical or conditional (*naimittika*) like the performance of the *Pathikṛt Iṣṭi* which removes the impediments to the *Darśa* and the *Paurṇamāsa* sacrifices; (3) optional or performed with some purpose in view (*Kāmya*); its effects may: (a) either be confined to this world like the *Kārīrī* sacrifice which one performs when he desires rain for his withering crop; (b) or belong to the other world, as in the case of the *Darśa* and *Paurṇamāsa* performed to achieve heaven; (c) or extend to both this world and that beyond, like the *Vāyavya* sacrifice performed with the object of attaining prosperity in this world as well as in the other. While the non-performance of the *Nitya* and the *Naimittika* Karma brings sin, some believe that their performance brings no definite result. Others hold, however, that removal of sin is the effect of performing these two kinds of actions. Even then they are quite distinct from the *Kāmya*, since their performance is not preceded by any desire on the part of the Agent for any specific end.

This division of Karma into *Nitya*, *Naimittika* and *Kāmya* is acceptable to other systematists also like the Naiyāyikas and the Vedāntins.

In the Vaiśeṣika philosophy *Karma* means 'motion'. It is one of the seven knowable or nameable things in the universe (*padārtha*) accepted by the system.⁶ It is considered to be fivefold⁷: throwing upwards (*utkṣepaṇa*), throwing downwards (*avakṣepaṇa*), contraction (*ākuñcana*), expansion (*prasāraṇa*) and going (*gamana*).

6. *Vaiśeṣikasūtras*, I. 1. 4.

7. *Ibid.*, I. 1. 7

In Grammar *Karma* is one of the six promoters of action (*kāraka*), whose purpose is to speak of the relationship between the noun and the verb in a sentence or that subsisting between a noun and other words governing it. *Karma* is that *kāraka* which the agent particularly wishes to achieve by means of the action (*kartur īpsitatamaṁ karma*).⁸ Being the notion expressed by the accusative case, it denotes the object of an action. This object is threefold:⁹ (a) *nirvartya* when something new is produced as in the sentence *ghaṭam karoti*; (b) *vikārya* when change of substance or form is implied as in the sentence *kāṣṭhāni bhasma karoti*; (c) *prāpya* when the desired object is attained as in the sentence *nagaram upaśrayati* or *ādityam paśyati*. According to another method of classification¹⁰ *Karma* can be fourfold also:

Tatrepsitatamaṁ karma caturdhā'nyat tu kalpitam /
Audāsīnyena yat prāptam yac ca kartur anīpsitam /
Samjñāntarair anākhyātam yad yac cāpy anyapūrvakam //

In Astrology¹¹ the word denotes the tenth lunar mansion which determines the position and profession of the individual in life, and in *Āyurveda*¹² it denotes the action (*ceṣṭita*) of a medicine.

By far the most important sense in which the word is used is the sum-total of deeds done by an individual in his previous birth or births. It is the *Upaniṣads*¹³ that first popularised this sense which, in all later literature, becomes the primary connotation of the word. *Karma*, understood thus, is believed to be the cause both of man's present misery and happiness. As there can be nothing on earth that is uncaused, so also there can be no experience of man which can have no cause. So also even as man owes his present experience to his past actions, his present deeds will have their own effect in future. The iron law of *Karma* is thus laid down that no man reaps what he did not sow and that every man must reap what he sows. Since it is not possible for a man to reap, in the same life, the benefit of his deeds, we are led to accept a succession of existences to him to pay the penalty for what he did in his previous life or lives. It is here that the doctrine of Reincarnation has its origin. Briefly stated, the doctrine holds that each individual reappears after death in other corporate forms in which

8. *Pāṇini*, I. 4. 49.

9. *Vākyapadīya* (Benares, 1887), III. 45, 47 ff.

10. *Ibid.*, III. 45-46.

11. *Sārāvalī* of Kalyāṇavarman, XXXIII. 1, p. 121, (N. S. Press, 3rd Edn., Bombay, 1928).

12. *Caraka Saṁhitā*, I. 1. 48.

13. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 2. 13.

he will enjoy or suffer the consequences of his former deeds, taking up, as his deeds demand, the body of a man, animal, plant or insect.

The Sanskrit word *Samsāra* is derived from the root *ṣṛ*, 'to move,' with the prefix *sam*, and etymologically means 'moving round and round' or 'revolving'. The form *samasarat* occurs once even in the *Ṛgveda*,¹⁴ but only in the etymological sense of the word. The technical significance the word has in later philosophy is not yet known. We meet with the word again only in the *Upaniṣads*,¹⁵ and here it already means the 'round of existences'; and in the *Epics* and in later literature, Hindu, Jain and Buddhist, the word occurs, not only abundantly, but also almost exclusively as the Sanskrit equivalent for the twin concepts of Karma and Reincarnation taken together.

To the *Naiyāyikas* the word *Pretyabhāva* serves as a synonym¹⁶ of *Samsāra*. The word is defined in the aphorism,¹⁷ *Punrutpattiḥ pretyabhāvaḥ*. Commenting on it, *Vātsyāyana*¹⁸ says:

Utpannasya kvacit sattvanikāye mṛtvā yā punar utpattiḥ sa pretyabhāvaḥ Yat kvacit prāṇabhṛn nikāye vartamānaḥ pūrvopāttān dehādīn jahāti tat praiti. Yat tatrānyatra vā dehādīn anyān upādatte tad bhavati. Pretyabhāvaḥ mṛtvā punar janma, so'yaṁ janmamaraṇaprabandhābhyāso'nādir apavargāntaḥ pretyabhāvo veditavya iti //

And to *Śaṅkaramiśra*¹⁹ we owe the information that *Ajarañjarībhāva* is an old Vedic²⁰ synonym of *Samsāra*:

Vibhāgas tu śarīramanovibhāgo maraṇalakṣaṇaḥ. Tathā cāyaṁ janma-maraṇaprabandhaḥ samsāraḥ pretyabhāvāparanāmā dharmādharmaḥbhyām ity arthaḥ. Asyaiva ca pretyabhāvasyājarañjarībhāva iti vaidikī saṁjñā //

14. IX. 97. 45.

15. *Kaṭha*, III. 7; *Śvetāśvatara*, VI. 16; *Maitri*, I. 4 and so on.

16. ROTH and BÖHTLINGK (*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, 1865, s.v.) who explain the word as 'der Zustand nach dem Tode' do not show knowledge of this special meaning. The same has to be said of MONIER-WILLIAMS (s.v.).

17. *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama, I. 1. 19.

18. *Bhāṣya* on the above (Gujerati Press Edn., Bombay, 1922, p. 37).

19. *Upaskāra* on *Vaiśeṣikasūtras*, VI. 2. 15.

20. I am unable to find out when this expression first came into use. It is not known either to any of the well-known Dictionaries.

DEFINITIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS IN ŚYAINIKAŚĀSTRA OF RUDRADEVA¹

By

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The *Śyainikaśāstra* is composed by Rudradeva, a king of Kūrmācala or Kumaon in about 16th century A.D.

It is divided into the following seven chapters:—(1) *Karmānuṣaṅjana*, (2) *Vyasaṇaheyāheyatānirūpaṇa*, (3) *Mṛgayāvivecana*, (4) *Śyēnavivecana*, (5) *Cikitsādhikāra*, (6) *Śyēnapātetikartavyatā* and (7) *Mṛgayānantaretikartavyatā*.

The main aim of this paper is to show the importance of the present text from lexicographical points of view. It contains much lexical matter not utilized so far by former compilers of Sanskrit Dictionaries. It abounds in definitions, it is full of technical terms and in it are found many words that are of Turkish or Persian origin.

The royal author states in the first chapter that the so-called *vyasanas*, if practised in proper season and within proper bounds, are the real causes of exquisite delight, and so should be indulged in for the enjoyment of life. He devotes this chapter to the defence of *vyasanas* which are deprecated by the writers of Śāstras,² e.g. he says—

(1) *yadi sarvātmanāsevyāḥ smarasmerālasekṣaṇāḥ, punnāmno narakāt trātrī bhavet kva janir aurasī.* 1.9

(If women are to be altogether avoided, the birth of a son, who saves his father from hell named Put becomes impossible.)

(2) *niśiddhaiva mṛgavyā cet tarhi yāgādisādhanam, kva māmsājinaṣṭṛṅgādi labhyate vidhinoditam.* 1.10

(If hunting is to be prohibited, how can meat, skin, horn and other articles prescribed for sacrifice be obtained?).³

1. Edited by Haraprasāda SHASTRI in 1910. Paper read at the XVIIIth session of All-India Oriental Conference held at Annamalainagar.

2. Cf. *vyasanāniti satatam śāstrakārair vininditāḥ*, 1.8.

3. Cf. Kālidāsa in defence of hunting: *medacchedakṛśodaram laghu bhavaty utthānayaḥ vapuḥ sattvānām api lakṣyate vikṛtimat cittam bhayakrodhayoh, utkarṣaḥ sa ca dhanvinām yadiṣavah sidhyanti lakṣye ca mithyaiva vyasanam vadanti mṛgayām idṛg-vinodaḥ kutaḥ.* Śākuntala 2.5.

- (3) *aṣṭīrṇādyāmayadhvaṁso divāsvapnanīṣevanāt, trivargasādhanaśyeha jāyate vapuṣas tathā. 1.11*

(By sleeping during the day time, the body which is the means for obtaining the three objects of life, has its diseases like indigestion etc. cured). He further says, "prosperity is attained by meritorious deeds and it is derived for the enjoyment of the objects of the senses. That enjoyment is connected somehow or other with the *vyasanās*,"⁴ and finally concludes that those are to be practised moderately after due consideration of their usefulness or otherwise, each on its own merit, avoiding too much addiction to them.⁵

The author then enumerates the *vyasanās* and defines them in the second chapter. They are as under—

vākpāruṣya 2.4. harshness of speech. *aślīlā karkaśā cōktir vākpāruṣyam itīṣyate* (indecent and harsh speech).

daṇḍapāruṣya 2.5. severity of punishment. *daṇḍo'narhe mahograsā ca daṇḍa-pāruṣyam ucyate* (harsh punishment to those who do not deserve it).

irīṣyā 2.6. envy, *pararddhīṣv akṣamā cerṣyā* (intolerance of others' prosperity).

asūyā 2.7. indignation, disparagement. *doṣāropo guṇādaḥ yaḥ sāsūyati nigadyate* (imputing faults on merits).

sāhasa 2.9. rashness. *prāṇasaṁdehakṛt kāryaṁ kṛtaṁ sāhasam ucyate* (a deed involving risk of life).

arthadūṣaṇa 2.10. spoiling of property, abuse of money. *prakīrṇatā cāgraha-ṇam apātre pratipādanam, mūlacchedena vā dānapratipatty arthadūṣa-ṇam* (want of discrimination in accepting and making gifts, refusal of legitimate gifts, offering to undeserving persons, ruinous charity and resumption of charities).

paiśunya 2.11. fault-finding. *sūcanaṁ paradoṣāṇāṁ paiśyūnyam iti gīyate* (divulgence of others' faults).

krodha 2.12. anger. *daṇḍātīpātane krauryaṁ krodha ity ucyate budhaiḥ* (cruelty in inflicting punishment).

strī 2.13. wife. *sulakṣaṇā kalābhīṣṇā dakṣā saubhāgyasaṁyutā, vayovinaya-saṁpannā sā strīty ucyate budhaiḥ* (endowed with auspicious marks, proficient in fine arts, clever, lovely, young and modest).

4. *śukrtaiḥ prāpyate sampat sā ca bhogāya ceṣyate, sa bhogo'stādaśavidhair vya-sanaś cānubadhyate. 1.27.*

5. *heyāheyāḥ purā prāḥ bhīṣmo dharmātmajaṁ yathā, vyasanāni ca sarvāṇi tyajethā bhūridakṣiṇa, na caiva na prayujīta saṅgaṁ tu parivarjayet. 2.32.*

akṣa 2.20 gambling. *krīḍā sajjivanirjīvā glahapūrvākṣa ucyate* (laying wager in playing with animate and inanimate objects).

madirā 2.21 wine, intoxicant. *yat pānāt mattatām eti tad vastu madirocycate*.

gīta 2.22. vocal music, song. *geyaṁ yad raktakaṇṭhasya tālasvarasamanvitaṁ, lāsyopayogi tad gītaṁ gītajñās tad vijānate* (consisting of songs by charming voices sung with time and tune in harmony accompanied by dances).

nṛtya 2.26. frantic and theatrical dance. *uddhataṁ tāṇḍavaṁ yac ca lāsyam cābhinayātmakam, cārīlayasamāyuktaṁ dvividhaṁ nṛtyam ucyate*.

vādyā 2.27. instrumental music. *caturvidhaṁ vādyam uktam tattatādiprabhedataḥ*.

vṛthāṭana 2.28. strolling about in an idle manner. *kāryaṁ vinā yad udyānanagarādyupasarpaṇam vṛthāṭanam*.

In the third chapter various kinds of hunting are enumerated. First he defines *mṛgayā* as follows:

āmiṣādyarthasamsiddhyai naikopāyairiṣṭaḥ sukhāya ca himsanaṁ prāṇimātrasya mṛgayeti pracakṣate. 3.2.

(Killing of any animal by any means for the sake of its flesh or for pleasure, is called *mṛgayā*).

He then defines and describes eight kinds of hunting. They are as follows:⁶

****āśvīnā** 3.17. hunting on horseback. *turagaiḥ sādhanābhūtair vidravantaḥ śarādibhiḥ, vadhyante hi mṛgā yasyāṁ sāśvīnā rasaśevadhiḥ*. (hunting running animals with arrows and with the help of horses).

****sajālā** 3.42. hunting by snares. *sā sajālā kūṭavṛttyā yasyāṁ nighnanti vai mṛgān, matsyaśaṅkhodrasūktīnāṁ bandhanaṁ cāpi kurvate*. (hunting animals by triking, and capturing fish, conches, otters and oysters).

***kālyā** 3.48. hunting by stratagem. *kālyā saṁkālyā bahubhiḥ pṛsthato'nyairiṣṭaḥ purāḥsthitaiḥ, sādhyate yā pṛthaklīnaiḥ caturdhā sā tu bhidyate*. (animals are hunted by many, some standing in front, some behind, acting in concert, although standing apart. This is of four types).

****bahukarṇikā** 3.49. a kind of hunting by stratagem. *tāroccāraiḥ kālyamānāḥ purovātaṁ dvibhiḥ tribhiḥ, trikarnimokṣair hanyante eṇāḥ sā*

6. ** indicate that the vocable is not recorded in MONIER-WILLIAMS' Sanskrit-English Dictionary and * indicates that the meaning is not recorded.

bahukarnikā. (hunting of deer by the hurling of trident or a similar weapon by two or three persons standing to the windward and shouting loudly).

***mūlālagnikā* 3.50. a kind of hunting by stratagem. *prsthato nibīḍibhūtaiḥ kālyante yatra vai mṛgāḥ, badhyante pādapacchannair yatra sā mūlālagnikā*. (animals are deceived and killed by many people standing concealed by the trees and gradually coming close to each other behind them).

***mahākālyā* 3.51-52. a kind of hunting by stratagem. *sudūrād vartulibhūya kramāt saṁkocam āgataiḥ, ekatra pratisaṁruddhā naikajātyudbhavā mṛgāḥ, vadhyante karavālādyair bahubhir yatra naikadhā mahākālyeti sā proktā*. (hunting by many men, first encircling a forest and then coming in closer circles, thus stopping the flight of animals and killing them by swords and other weapons).

***gajakālyā* 3.53 a kind of hunting by stratagem. *aparā gajakālyeti sādhyate sāsvasādibhiḥ, grīṣmartāv eva virālībhūtavāryuparōdhanāt* (capturing of elephants by horsemen, by cornering them in pools half dried in summer).

***yāvaśī* 3.55. hunting by watching the motion of standing crops. *niryātayavaśyādīspandanāmātrasūcitāḥ, vadhyante yatra vai vadhyā yāvaśī sā prakīrtitā*. (killing animals by watching the motion of wheat and other standing crops in which they hide themselves).

***sāpekṣā* 3.58. hunting by lying in wait. *mṛgādyapekṣām ālambya līno yatraika eva vā, dhanvī vidhyati digdhena sā sāpekṣā smṛtā budhaiḥ*. (hunting by a bowman singly or jointly with others awaiting the approach of animals and then piercing them with poisoned arrow).

***padaprekṣā* 3.60. hunting by the observation of footprints. *padamārgānu-sāreṇa vadhyante yatra vai mṛgāḥ, padaprekṣā ca sā proktā dvidhā sāpi prayujyate*. (hunting the animals which are tracked by their footprints).

***śvapadaprekṣikā* 3.61. hunting by the observation of the footprints of dogs. *kukkuraiḥ parito'nvīṣya ciraṁ āyāsyā karkaśam, vadhyate hi mṛgo yasyām śvapadaprekṣikā hi sā*. (hunting in which dogs are employed to search the animal).

***pūrvaśabdītā* 3.62. a kind of hunting in which the bowman himself searches out the animal. *yatra dhanvī prayatnena svayam anvīṣya kauśalāt, sūptam sūptotthitam vāpi hanti sā pūrvaśabdītā*.

****śvaganikā 3.64.** hunting hares and other animals by packs of dogs. *ūṣarādi-sihale yasyām lakṣyīkṛtyopavāhitāḥ, gr̥hṇanti śasakādīmś ca śvānaḥ śvaganikā smṛtā.*

****rajvāmoka 3.70.** a kind of hunting in which the string is cast to capture antelopes and deer. *asyā eva bhīdā kāpi kṛṣṇasāre rurau hi yaḥ, moko' tīrasakṛd yena rajvāmoko'pi sa smṛtaḥ.*

****śyenapātā 3.71.** hunting in which hawks cast in two different ways fall upon other birds of prey. *yasyām tajjñair dvidhā muktāḥ patatṛiṣu patanti ca śyenāḥ sātīva rasabhūḥ śyenapāteti kathyate.*

In this last variety of hunting, two different methods of throwing the hawks at the birds of prey are practised. They are *hastamoka* and *muṣṭimoka*.

****hastamoka 4.2-3** a kind of throwing the hawk at the prey. *yatrāṅgulībhiḥ, sarvābhiḥ śyainapatpāśapīḍanam, vidhāya kriyate moko hastamokaḥ sa ucyate.* (in this the jesses of the hawk are held by the fingers).

****muṣṭimoka 4.4.** a kind of throwing the hawk at the prey. *vastrāntaritam āveśya talopari yathābalam asaṅgavat parīkṣepo muṣṭimokaḥ prakīrtitaḥ.* (in this the hawk is thrown by holding it in the palm of the hand, the hawk's feathers being protected by a piece of cloth).

The fourth chapter of the text deals with the description of different species of hawks. They are divided into two main groups viz. black-eyed (*kṛṣṇākṣa*) and yellow-eyed (*pāṭalākṣa*). The various species of these divisions are mentioned below.

****kuhī 4.20.** (derived probably from the Persian word *kuha* meaning 'mountain') one of the species of black-eyed hawk.

***śasāda 4.20.** one of the species of black-eyed hawk.

***caraka 4.20** (from the Persian word *caraḥ* or *caragh*) one of the species of black-eyed hawk.

****vahaṛī 4.20.** (from the Persian word *baḥrī*) one of the species of black-eyed hawk.

****lagara 4.20.** (probably from the Persian word *laghar* meaning 'thin, lean') one of the species of black-eyed hawk.

****pakṣakalikā 4.21** one of the species of black-eyed hawk.

****turumutī 4.21.** (from the Persian word *turumta*) one of the species of black-eyed hawk.

**vāja* 4.32 (from the Persian word *bāz*) one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

**vāsa* 4.32. (from the Persian word *vāša*) one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

**vesara* 4.32. one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

***sicāna* 4.32. one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

**jūra* 4.32. (from the Persian word *jūrā*) one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

**ceṭa* 4.32. one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

**dhūti* (or *dhūtikā*) 4.32. one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

***ṭunā* (or *ṭonā*) 4.32. one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

**vājīn* 4.34 (probably from the Persian word *bāz*) one of the species of yellow-eyed hawk.

balākā*, **cakrāṅga*, **kālaka*, *hamsavāja*, ***mahārāvāṇa* are the species belonging to *vāja*-class of hawks.

Similarly ***aurāṅga*, **dhāvāna*, **pratiṣṭhāna*, ***śikāra* belong to *vāsa*-class of hawks.

To the *vesara*-class of hawks belong the species of **māṇika* and ***cūlikāṅka*.

It will be interesting here to note in this connection the different species of hawks described in the section of Śyenavinoda of Mānasollāsa composed by king Someśvara who flourished in the 12th century A.D. It gives the following varieties.

*śālivā jāvādā (lā) laṅghu (gnaḥ) prājiko laṅgaṇas tathā, sañcānā vesarā grdhrās tathā ya (ja) valakaṇṭhi (ṭṭi) kāḥ, caṇḍī yāvāvahāḥ śyenāḥ śyenānām jātayas tv imāḥ.*⁷

The last chapters of our text discuss in detail the training given to the hawks, their capacity for hunting other birds of prey, the kind and the quality of their food, their tending in different seasons, the treatment of their diseases and lastly various methods of sports with them.

THE VOCABULARY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA (III):

LONG COMPOUNDS

By

Nilmadhav SEN, Poona

The power of combining two or more stems into a compound was inherited by OIA from the Indo-European period. But the language of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas differs considerably from that of the later period "as regards the length and intricacy of the combinations allowed". In the RV. and AV., there is no single instance of compound with more than three independent members (*Vedic Gram. for Students*, § 185); Avestan also does not contain any compound with more than three independent members (JACKSON, *Avestan Grammar*, § 859) and the compound in Old Persian "never exceeds two words, except the solitary (h)uvāsbara" (SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 286). But compounds gradually became more and more long and cumbrous in later Skt. until the climax was reached in the writings of Subandhu, Bāṇa (7th cen. A.D.) and Bhavabhūti (8th cen. A.D.) where we meet with numerous cases of long compounds running upto several lines at a stretch. No such unwieldy and barbarously long compound, however, is found in the Rā., although it contains a few instances of long compounds which have run upto a whole half-stanza of a verse in Śloka metre; but most of such cases are either simple *Dvandva* compounds or final *Tatpuruṣas* or *Bahuvrīhis* at the tail of the *Dvandvas*. It may incidentally be pointed out here that long compounds are extremely rare in the spurious Books of the Rā., although one of the longest of them is found in the Seventh Book.

A comprehensive, if not complete, list of compounds with six or more stems, collected mainly from the S. Recension, is given below.

(i) Compounds with NINE stems

maha-rṣi-yakṣa-gandharva-kiṁ-naro-ra-ga-sevitam .. V.56.36 = NW., V. 54.6 = Bl., V.55[54].5.

indra-vaivasvata-viṣṇu-mitra-sādhyā-śvi-vaiśvānara-candra-sūryāḥ .. Go. VI. 73.7 (v.l. indra-vaivasvata-viṣṇu-rudra-sādhyāś ca vaiśvānara°; NW., VI.53.6, indra-vaivasvata-viṣṇu-mitraḥ sādhyā-śvi-vaiśvānara-candra-sūryāḥ).

parākramo-tsāha-mati-pratāpa-sauśīlya-mādhurya-nay-ā-nayaiḥ .. VII.36.43
(NW., VII.39.42, Bl., VII.40.17, have two separate compounds here).

(ii) Compounds with EIGHT stems

kuṣṭha-sthagara-puṁ-nāga-bhūrja-patro-ttara-cchadān .. II.94.24 (NW., II.107.23, Bl., II.103.24, kunda-puṁ-nāga-[kuṣṭha-puṁ-nāga]-bakula-bhūrja-patra-paricchadān).
deva-dānava-gandharva-piśāca-pata-go-ra-gaiḥ .. III.32.18 (NW., III.36.24, Bl., III.37.22[36.24], deva-dānava-yakṣāṇām gandharvo-[piśāco]-ra-ga-rakṣasām).
panna-g-ā-sura-gandharva-deva-dānava-rākṣasaiḥ .. III.45.10.
kiṁ-naro-ra-ga-gandharva-yakṣa-rākṣasa-sevitām .. III.75.19.
siṁha-kuñjara-śārdūla-pata-go-ra-ga-vāhanaiḥ .. V.1.5.
kiṁ-naro-ra-ga-gandharva-yakṣa-vidyā-dharāḥ .. V.56.48.
deśa-kālā-rtha-saṁvādi-drṣṭa-loka-parā-varaḥ .. VI.10.13.
bhinna-lāṅgūla-hasto-ru-pādā-ṅguli-śiro-dharaiḥ .. VI. 74.8 = Bl., VI.55.8
[chinna-lāṅgūla-hasto-ru-pādā-ṅguṣṭha-śiro-ruhaiḥ] (NW., VI.53.57,
chinna-lāṅgūla-hastaiś ca viprakīrṇa-śiro-dharaiḥ).
keyūrā-ṅga-da-vaidūrya-muktā-hāra-srag-ujjvalam .. VI.113[111].43.
mātā-pitṛ-suta-sneha-bhāryā-bandhu-mano-ramaiḥ .. VII.20.14.

(iii) Compounds with SEVEN stems

jana-vṛndo-rmi-saṁgharṣa-harṣa-svana-vṛtaḥ .. II.5.17 (NW., II.7.17, tadā hi
mr̥dyamānasya harṣodbhūtormibhir janaiḥ, Bl., II.4.17, tadā hi ṛtya-
mānasya harṣodbhūtormibhir jalaiḥ for jana ... vṛtas tadā).
pranaṣṭa-bali-karme-jyā-mantra-homa-japāni .. II.33.20.
deva-mānava-gandharva-mṛga-panna-ga-pakṣiṇām .. II.50.29.
tilakā-śoka-puṁ-nāga-bakulo-ddāla-kāśinim .. III.75.16.
cañcac-candra-kara-sparśa-harṣo-nmīlita-tārakā .. IV.30.45.
candra-sūryā-mśu-saṁkāśa-sāgarā-mbu-samāśrayaḥ .. IV.41.29. (NW., IV.33.37, candra-sūryā-mśu-saṁkāśaḥ sāgarā-mbu-pariplutaḥ, Bl., IV.41.41,
°saṁkāśam sāgarā-mbu-samāvṛtam).
graha-nakṣatra-candrā-rka-tārā-gaṇa-vibhūṣite .. V.1.166 = NW., IV.62.43
(graha-candrā-rka-nakṣatra-tārā-gaṇa-virājitam) = Bl., V.7.60 (graha-
candrā-rka-nakṣatra-tārā-gaṇa-niṣevite).
maha-rṣi-gaṇa-gandharva-nāga-yakṣa-samākule .. V.1.167 = NW., IV.62.44
(°lam) = Bl., V.7.60 (maha-rṣi-deva-gandharva-yakṣa-rākṣasa-sevite).
indra-ñila-mahā-ñila-maṇi-pravara-vedikam .. V.9.16 = NW., V.5.29.
vyāvṛtta-pina-kaca-srak-prakīrṇa-vara-bhūṣaṇāḥ .. V.9.45 (NW., V.5.68, Bl.,
V.14[13].33, vyāvṛtta-vasanās[°śirasas]tatra prakīrṇa°).
kālā-yasa-mahā-śūla-kūṭa-mudgara-dhāriṇaḥ .. V.17.9.

- varāha-mṛga-śārdūla-mahiṣā-ja-śivā-mukhīḥ .. V.17.10.
 bhujarṇ-ga-yakṣa-gandharva-prabuddha-kamalo-tpalam .. V.57.1.
 nānā-pataṇ-ga-saṁghuṣṭa-phala-puṣpo-pagaiḥ .. VI.24.11.
 vyāghro-ṣṭra-nāge-ndra-mṛgā-śva-vaktraiḥ .. VI.59.23 = *Bl.*, VI.35.15
 (°mṛge-ndra-vaktraiḥ = *NW.*, VI.37.18 (°mṛga-rkṣa-yuktaiḥ)).
 deva-dānava-gandharva-yakṣa-panna-ga-sūdanam .. VI.65.19 (*NW.*, VI.44.3,
 deva-dānava-darpa-ghnam yakṣa-gandharva-sūdanam).
 kāñcanā-ṅga-da-keyūra-niṣkā-bharaṇa-bhūṣitaḥ .. VI.65.28 = *Bl.*, VI.44.22
 [°niṣka-pravara°] (*NW.*, VI.44.22, °keyūro niṣka-pravara-bhūṣaṇaḥ).
 su-parṇa-kṛtto-ra-ga-vīrya-kalpam .. VI.69.90 = *NW.*, VI.49.73 (°bhoga-
 kalpam) = *Bl.*, VI.49.74, (su-parṇa-kṛtto-ttama-bhoga-kalpam).
 airāvata-mahā-padma-sārva-bhauma-bhayā-vahām .. VI.70.52 (*NW.*, VI.51.
 21, *Bl.*, VI.50.49, airāvata-karṇā-kārām sarva-bhūta-bhayā-vahām).
 sa-cāpa-bāṇā-si-rathā-śva-śūlaḥ .. VI.73.26 = *NW.*, VI.53.27 (°sūtam).
 dipta-śūla-gadā-khaḍga-prāsa-tomara-kārmukam .. VI.75.55 = *Bl.*, VI.54.49
 (°prāsa-mudgara-dhāri ca) = *NW.*, VI.54.58, (°gadā-śakti-khaḍga-
 mudgara-dhāriṇam).
 gandha-mālya-madhū-tseka-saṁmodita-mahā-nilam .. VI.75.57 (*NW.*, VI.
 54.59, mālya-gandha-samutsekam samācita-mahā-balam).
 prahlāda-bali-vṛtra-ghna-kubera-varuṇo-pamam .. VI.76.72 = *NW.* *Bha.*
 VI.54.107 (prahlāda-bala-vṛtre-ndra-bali-sūrya-yamo-pama; *v.l.* prakāmaṁ
 cala-citta-ghna mājā-bala-viśārada; *Bl.*, VI.56.64[55.67], prabhāva-bala-
 darpa-ghno mājā-vīrya-viśāradaḥ).
 daśa-ratha-nṛ-pa-sūnu-bāṇa-vegaiḥ .. VI.79.41 = *NW.*, VI.57.47.
 campakā-guru-puṁ-nāga-madhūka-panasā-sanaiḥ .. VII.42.3 (*Bl.*, VII.45.7,
 campakā-śoka-puṁ-nāgair madhūka-panasā-dibhiḥ).

(iv) Compounds with SIX stems

- sama-madhuro-panatā-rtha-vākya-baddham .. I.2.43.
 sure-ndra-siddha-rṣi-gaṇā-bhipūjitaḥ .. I.16.32.
 megha-vṛnd-ā-cala-kūṭa-saṁnibhaiḥ .. I.17.37 = *Bl.*, I.20.21 (megha-vṛnd-ā-
 cala-tulya-kāyaiḥ).
 daśa-ratha-nṛ-pa-sūnu-sattamābhyām .. I.22.24.
 adri-kūṭ-ā-cala-megha-saṁnibham .. II.15.48.
 sito-cca-śailo-ttama-śṛṅga-varcasam .. *Bl.*, II.12.38 (*NW.*, II.16.59, sitam ca
 śailo-ttama-śṛṅga-saṁnibham).
 mahā-vi-māno-pama-veśma-saṁgatam .. II.15.48 (*NW.*, II.16.59, *Bl.*, II.12.38,
 mahā-vi-māna-pratimaṁ janaughavat).
 hasty-aśva-rathi-hasto-ru-śirobhiḥ .. II.23.34 (*NW.*, II.23.39, *Bl.*, II.20.39,
 patty-aśva-ratha-mātāṅgair mahī bhavatu sarvaśaḥ for °śirobhir bhavitā
 mahī).

- an-eka-nānā-mṛga-pakṣi-saṁkule .. II.56. addl. verse 1 after 34.
 an-eka-nānā-vidha-pakṣi-nādite .. NW., II.60.32 = Bl., II.56.31.
 na-deśa-kāla-pravibhāga-tattva-bit .. III.33.23.
 vipranaṣṭā-nala-marud-bhās-kara-dyuti .. III. 64.60 (NW., III.70.15, vipra-
 naṣṭā-nilā-nalaṁ śītāṁśu-dyuti).
 an-eka-nānā-vidha-pakṣi-saṁkulām .. III.75.40 = NW., III.81.22 (°sevitām).
 śītā-kapī-ndra-kṣaṇa-dā-carāṇām .. IV.5.31.
 puṣpā-gra-bhārā-vanatā-gra-śākhaiḥ .. IV.30.34.
 dhaut-ā-mala-kṣauma-patra-prakāśaiḥ .. IV.30.51.
 mahe-ndra-himavad-vindhya-kailāsa-śikhareṣu .. IV.37.2 = Bl., IV.37.2
 (NW., IV.30.2, mahendre malaye sahye kailāsa-śikhare).
 śūla-śara-nistriṁśa-vividhā-yudha-pāṇayaḥ .. V.30.27 = Bl., V.29.23 (NW.,
 V. 24.28, śūla-śara-nistriṁśāḥ pāśa-tomara-dhāriṇaḥ).
 turāṁ-ga-mātaṅga-mahā-ratha-svanaiḥ .. V.47.7 = NW., V.43 7.
 śara-prakarṣā-yudha-rākṣasā-mbu-daḥ .. NW. V.43.18 (GP., V.47.18, śara-
 pravarṣo yudhi rākṣasā-mbu-daḥ).
 hema-ṇṣkā-ṅga-da-cāru-kuṇḍalaḥ .. V.47.12 = NW., V.43.12.
 bhagna-bāhū-ru-kaṭi-payo-dharaḥ .. V.47.36 = NW., V.43.36 (°śiro-dharaḥ)
 = Bl., V.43[42].20 (prabhinna-vakṣo-ru-kaṭi-śiro-dharaḥ).
 vajra-vidruma-vaidūrya-muktā-rajata-saṁhatān .. V.54.27.
 prapalāyita-rakṣaḥ-strī-bāla-vṛddha-samākulā .. V.55.31.
 śvasana-candrā-rka-siddha-gandharva-sevitam .. V.58.167.
 maṇi-vidruma-vaidūrya-muktā-viracitā-ntaraḥ .. VI.3.14 = NW., V.70.11
 = Bl., V.73[72].11 (°muktā-hema-vibhūṣitaḥ).
 parigha-śakty-rṣṭi-śūla-paṭṭiśa-kuntalam .. VI.7.2.
 giri-śa-pādā-mbu-ja-saṁgataḥ .. VI.20.25.
 maṇi-kāñcana-keyūra-muktā-pravara-bhuṣaṇaiḥ .. VI.21.3.
 campakā-śoka-bakula-sāla-tāla-samākulā .. VI.39.3 = Bl., VI.15.3 = NW.,
 VI.15.3 (°tāla-vanā-yutā).
 { prāsā-si-śilā-yudha-śāstra-yuṣṭam .. VI.59.12.
 { prāsā-si-śulā-śani-cakra-yuṣṭam .. NW., VI.37.6 = Bl., VI.35.6.
 navo-ditā-rko-pama-tāmra-vaktraḥ .. VI.59.14 = NW., VI.37.8 (°netraḥ)
 = Bl., VI.35.8 (°cakṣuḥ).
 kṣurā-rdha-candro-ttama-karṇa-bhallaiḥ .. VI.59.99 = Bl., VI.36.77 (°karṇi-
 bhallaiḥ) = NW., VI.37.93 (°karṇi-bhallān).
 sā-śva-dhvaja-cchatra-mahā-patākam .. VI.59.135 (NW., VI.37.126, sā-śva-
 dhvajam cāru mahā-patākam; Bl., VI.36.113, sāśvam dvajam cātha ...).
 yugā-nta-megha-stanita-svaro-pamam .. VI.67.20 = Bl., VI.46.19 [tapā-nta-
 megha-stanito-pama-svanaḥ] (NW., VI.46.18, yathā tapānte jalado balā-
 hakaḥ).
 bhujam-ga-rājo-ttama-bhoga-bāhuḥ .. VI.67.143.

- mahe-ndra-vajrā-śani-tulya-vegām .. VI.67.166 = NW., VI.46.143 = Bl., VI.46.131.
- deva-rṣi-maha-rṣi-panna-gāḥ .. VI.67.173 = Bl., VI.46.140 [°guhyakāḥ] (NW., VI.46.155, *tataḥ sa-deva-rṣi-sa-guhyakā-psaraḥ-surā-surāḥ bhūta-su-parṇa-panna-gāḥ* for *tatas tu deva-rṣi-maha-rṣi-panna-gāḥ surās ca bhūtāni su-parṇa-guhyakāḥ*).
- sa-yakṣa-gandharva-sa-daitya-dānavāḥ .. NW., VI.46.155 = Bl., VI.46.140 (By., VI.67.173, *sa-yakṣa-gandharva-gaṇā nabho-gatāḥ*).
- su-parṇa-vajro-ttama-citra-puṅkham .. VI.71.101 = Bl., VI.51.106 (NW., VI.52.109, *kālā-gni-tulyam sita-pīta-puṅkham*).
- prāsa-mudgara-nistrimśa-paraśvadha-gadā-dharāḥ .. VI.73.12 = Bl., VI.52.11 = NW., VI.53.10 (°paraśvadha-dharāḥ pare).
- daśa-ratha-suta-rākṣase-ndra-sūnvoḥ .. VI.77.23 = NW., VI.55.24 [°camvoḥ] (Bl., VI.57[56].22, *daśa-ratha-suta-vāhini samagrā*).
- ghana-gaja-mahiṣā-ṅga-tulya-varṇāḥ .. VI.78.21 = NW., VI.56.23.
- mahe-ndra-bāṇā-śani-tulya-vegān .. NW., VI.37.92.
- mahe-ndra-vajrā-śani-tulya-vegān .. NW., VI.37.94 = Bl., VI.36.79 (By., VI.59.101, *mahe-ndra-tulyo 'śani-bhīma-vegān*).
- cakrā-si-śārngā-yudha-śaṅkha-pāṇiḥ .. VII.6.68 = Bl., VII. 6.61.
- siddha-deva-rṣi-maho-ra-gaiḥ .. VII.6.68 = Bl., VII.6.61 (deva-siddha-rṣi°).
- deva-siddha-dvi-ja-saṅgha-juṣṭaḥ .. NW., VII.5.57.
- { su-parṇa-pakṣā-ṇila-nunna-pakṣam .. VII.6.69.
- { su-parṇa-pakṣā-ṇila-dhūta-vastram .. NW., VII.5.58 = Bl., VII. 6.62.
- sa-deva-gandharva-bhujarṅga-guhyakaiḥ .. VII.35.64 = Bl., VII.38.114 = NW., VII.38.67 (°guhyakāḥ).
- sa-deva-gandharva-rṣi-yakṣa-rākṣasaiḥ .. VII.35.65 = Bl., VII.38.115 (sa deva-gandharva°) = NW., VII.38.68 (sa-deva-gandharva-maha-rṣi-rākṣa-saiḥ).
- calat-kuṇḍala-mauli-srak-tapanīya-vibhūṣaṇaḥ .. VII.36.2 (NW., VII.39.2, °mauliḥ sa tapanīya°; Bl., VII. 39.2, °maulis tu tapta-kāñcana-bhuṣaṇaḥ).
- mandāra-kadali-gulma-latā-jāla-samāvṛtām .. VII.42.4 = NW., VII.44.3 = Bl., VII.45.8 (°samāvṛtāḥ).
- gaje-ndra-vāji-pravar-augha-saṅkulām .. VII.64.18 = Bl., VII.70.21.
- karā-gra-dṛṣṭi-smita-bhāṣite-ṅgitaiḥ .. Bl., II.13.28.

KĪRTI, KĪRTIMUKHA AND KĪRTISTAMBHA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA, Benares

I

Recently Dr. B. C. CHHABRA had drawn attention to the technical meaning of the word *kīrti* and its cognate *kīrtana*, both of which denoted 'a shrine' or 'a temple'. It is clear that, though in a majority of cases the word *kīrti* denotes 'a temple', it also means 'a monument' in general, 'any constructional work or sculptural object intended to perpetuate the memory of its author', and that in this sense the word *kīrtana* can also be employed.¹ We propose to examine the word more closely.

The mediaeval Sanskrit lexicons record *kīrti* as an equivalent of *prasāda*—

kīrtir yaśasi vistāre prāsāde kardame'pi ca
(Hemacandra, Anekārthasaṃgraha).

MONIER-WILLIAMS on the authority of lexicons had recorded so early as 1899: '*kīrti* = *prasāda* (favour) or *prāsāda* (a palace)'. Although the printed text of the *Medinī* gives *kīrtiḥ prasāda-yaśasoḥ* and some others follow, it may be stated categorically that *prasāda* is an error for *prāsāda* and that *kīrti* never was an equivalent of *prasāda*. The other synonym *prāsāda* denotes both 'a temple' and 'a royal palace', as Dr. CHHABRA has mentioned. It is not correct to render *kīrti* as 'a palace', as Monier-Williams had done; the meaning of 'temple' or 'shrine' is more appropriate, but needs clarification.

Originally the word *kīrti* signified an excavated caitya-hall. The earliest epigraphic use of *kīrti* occurs in a copper-plate inscription found in 1839 in front of the large arched cave or caitya-hall at Kanheri on a ledge of the mountain, some 30 or 40 feet below inside a big tope with 2 coins and dated in the year 245 of the Traikūṭakas (A.D. 493):

*tāvat kīrtiḥ sthīreyaṃ bhajatu śubhakarī satsutaṃ puṣyanāmaḥ*²

1. B. Ch. CHHABRA, *Kīrti: Its Connotation*, *Siddha-Bhārati*, pp. 38-42.

2. Published in the *JBBRAS*, V. p. 32, pl. XXVI; Archaeological Survey of Western India Series, No. 10, Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India, Kanheri Caves, Ins. 1, line 8.

'So long may this permanent *kīrti* remain auspicious to Puṣya's noble son !'. What was the nature of this *kīrti* monument is mentioned in the epigraph as:

*Ārya—śāradvatīputrasya caityaṁ ghaṭitapāṣāṇeṣṭakābhiḥ pra-
tiṣṭhāpitavān*, i.e. 'he established the caitya of dressed stone-bricks which
was dedicated to the venerable *Śāradvatīputra*'. It is to be noted that the
caitya was not a *caityamaṇḍapa* or caitya-hall but a *stūpa* which was also
called *caitya*. The expression *ghaṭitapāṣāṇeṣṭakā* may mean 'dressed stone
blocks and bricks' or dressed stone-bricks, preferably the latter. One thing
is clear that the monument referred to as *kīrti* in 493 A.D. was structural and
not rock-cut. The meaning of *kīrti* current in the fifth century applied to
such monuments as were then known. Structural *stūpas* and caitya-halls
and Brahmanical temples had come to be erected in the Gupta period, side
by side with rock-cut caves or caitya-halls and even rock-cut temples.

To understand the origin of the word *kīrti* we must look to the earlier
tradition of the pre-structural stage of caitya monuments.

As firmly evidenced by the caitya-halls at Bhājā, Pītalkhorā, Koṇḍane,
Bedsa, Karle, Kanheri, Ajañṭā, etc. these *selaghara*, *selamaṇṭava*, *cetiaghā*
monuments were excavated in the face of live rock. Their construction was
remarkable, comprising a large opening to admit light and air, an inner
pillared hall with vaulted roof, two aisles, and a semi-circular apse accom-
modating a rock-cut *stūpa*. It has been admitted by all authorities that prior
to the introduction of rock architecture there was a stage when the caitya-
halls were erected in timber. Such appears to have been the *caitya-prāsāda*
of Rāvaṇa in Lañkā which was reduced to ashes by Hanumān :

tatra cāgniḥ samabhavat prāsādaś cāpy adahyata. (Sundara. 43. 18).

But gradually the technique of cutting the caitya-halls in rock was
discovered and perfected, and this architectural mode fired the imagination
of the people.

Here then there was the scope for a new word. The cutting or scooving
of the rock commenced with the boring of an opening into the facade of
the intended caitya-hall. The facade (*gharamukha*) consisted of two parts,
a large opening above now called caitya-window and a lower solid screen
pierced by three doors, one in the centre to give access to the nave (*maṇḍapa*)
and the two side ones to the two aisles (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*). As the work
proceeded the opening was widened and the debris from inside was thrown
or cast outside through that opening. The hollowed out *maṇḍapa* of the
interior was given the literal designation of *kīrti* and the initial opening with
which the cutting commenced and which served a very real function in the
execution stage was naturally called *kīrtimukha*. The ancient terms for our

modern *caitya*-window must have been *kīrtimukha*. We are familiar with the root *ut-kṛ*—‘to dig up or out, hollow out, excavate, carve, engrave’. The root is shown to have the meanings ‘to pour out, scatter, throw, cast’ (MONIER-WILLIAMS). The word *kīrti* was a verbal noun from $\sqrt{kṛ}$ and in the earliest semantic phases was considered quite adequate to denote a modest and plain excavated or hollowed out chamber, such as the early cells (*garbha*) and caves (*guhā*) must have been. That the original rock-cut *caitya*-halls must have been so designated is also borne out by the historical etymology of the two subsequent words *kīrtimukha* and *kīrtistambha*. Let us first dispose of the second one.

II. KIRTISTAMBHA

Literally the word *kīrtistambha* implies ‘a pillar associated with *kīrti*’. We actually have such free-standing lofty pillars in front of the *caitya*-halls at Karle, Kanheri, etc. As a matter of fact such pillars formed an integral part of the earliest *caitya-prāsāda* architecture. This is borne out by the description of the *prāsāda* in Lañkā, of which a monumental pillar formed a distinguishing land-mark: (*prāsādasya mahāms tasya stambhaṁ hema-parīṣkṛtam / utpāṭayitvā vegena Hanūmān mārutātmajaḥ* (Sundara. 43. 17).

We may go even earlier, and we find that the *stūpa* monument, when standing under the open sky, had also its free standing pillars. The mounds of thick yellow clay rammed as hard as stone, at Lauriya Nandangarh offer typical examples. Their contents indicate that they were burial mounds. In the particular mound in which a piece of gold-leaf with the figure of the Earth Goddess was found, a little below that level was discovered a long hollow shaft 10" in diameter showing that once a wooden pillar was placed there. In another adjoining mound the shaft of the wooden pillar was found *in situ*. We have another instance in the Asokan pillar installed in front of one of the Gateways of the Great Sāncī Stūpa. Probably reference to a wooden pillar (*sthūnā*) associated with a mound of earth raised over the relics of the departed ones may be traced to the R̥gveda X. 18. 13.³ The Sabhāparvan refers to such a pillar erected on the top of a *śmaśāna caitya* as *caityayūpa*, the two together invoked as a befitting *upamāna* in point of loftiness to Viṣṇu riding on Garuda.⁴

3. *ut te stabhnāmi pṛthivīm tvat parīmaṁ logaṁ nidadhan mo ahaṁ riṣam. etāṁ sthūnāṁ pitaro dhārayantu te' trā yamaḥ sādānā te minotu.* I keep off the earth above thee, while over thee I place this clod (or heap) of earth. May I be free from injury. Here let the Pitrs make stead-fast this pillar for thee, and there let Yama make an abiding place for thee."

4. *cintayāmāsa kṛṣṇo 'tha garutmantam sa cābhyayāt. kṣaṇe tasmin sa tenāsīc caityayūpa ivocchritaḥ.* Sabhā 22.22 Poona Edn.

Thus in accordance with a well-established old custom the *caitya-prāsāda* was provided with its associative column. This explains the existence of *kīrtistambhas* in front of *kīrti* excavations.

III. KĪRTIMUKHA

The term *kīrtimukha* was at the outset applied to the *caitya*-window or the big round opening through which the excavation work began and gradually proceeded. It was virtually the gaping mouth of the excavated interior. The curve of the opening was rudimentary in the earliest caves being broader at the base; it then became hemispherical, the two open ends of the curve were still further drawn inside until it became a perfect circle in the Gupta period. Apart from its functional role as an opening for scooving in the rock and subsequently for admitting light and air into the dark interior of the hall, the *kīrtimukha* was also adopted as a decorative pattern and its miniature repetitions were employed to beautify the cornice mouldings or doorways or other portions of the facade. In this new setting the small *caitya*-windows enclosed human heads, mostly female faces keeping out of windows. (*gavākṣa* or *vātāyana*). On the facade of the *caitya*-hall of cave XIX at Ajañṭā, we find the miniature *caitya*-windows with female faces employed as a very elegant decorative device on the exterior of the cave. In course of time the human faces were substituted by lion-faces as decorative members of the *caitya*-window patterns, and these became known as *kīrtimukhas* or *kīrtivaktras*. On the pillars of the Gupta period we find the *kīrtimukha* decoration in which the lion-face has been accepted as a natural member of the pattern. But the *kīrtimukhas* attained to their fullest possibility as an architectural member on the front portion of the *śikhara* of a Hindu temple. The functional *caitya*-window or the large circular opening of the excavated caves had long been superseded or left behind, but it was retained as the principal decorative element on the facade of the *śikhara*. This monumental lion-face was termed *kīrtivaktra* (*tadūrdhve kīrtivaktraṁ tu nirgamākṛtiṁ bhāvayet*, *Mānasāra* 18. 146) or *harivaktra* (*kīrtivaktraṁ harivaktraṁ cōktavat kārayet sudhīḥ*, *Mānasāra*, 18. 151).

IV. KĪRTANA

The word *kīrtana* was derived from the same root as *kīrti* and used in the same sense. Grammatically they are analogous to *drṣṭi* and *darśana*. From the seventh century onwards the use of *kīrtana* for a 'temple' became increasingly popular. Āryasūra had used it in the *Jātakamālā* as a current term of the Gupta cultural vocabulary (*śrīmanti kīrtanaśatāni nīveśitāni satrājir āśramapadāni sabhāḥ prapās ca*. *Jātakamālā*, p. 219; EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 184). But the most conspicuous use

of the word occurs in the Ellora Inscription engraved on the Kailāsa temple which is called a *kīrtana*: *kartāpi yasya khalu vismayam āpa śilpī tan nāma kīrtanam akārayata yena rājñā*. Dr. FLEET missed the significance of the word and rendered it as 'fame' (*Ind. Ant.*, XII. 159). But Dr. HULTZSCH appraised its true meaning and wrote that 'the word must be taken to signify a temple' (*Ind. Ant.* XII. pp. 228-229). HULTZSCH added two examples from literature, viz. from the Kādambarī (*kurvan kīrtanāni lekhayan śāsanāni pṛthivīm vicacāra*, 'he travelled the earth constructing temples and causing land grants to be written' and the Agnipurāṇa (*kīrtanāni ca kārayet*), 'cause temples to be constructed'. As noted by Dr. P. K. ACHARYA, it was originally Pt. Bhagavanlal INDRAJI who had realised *kīrtana* as a technical term meaning 'a temple', 'a shrine' (*Ind. Ant.* IX, pp. 34, 36 and note 13). (Acharya, *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, p. 117-118).

In an inscription dated V. S. 1093 (A.D. 1036) are found the significant words *kīrtanam kīrtitaṁ*, with reference to a Viṣṇu temple in a cave at Udayagiri near Bhilsa (B. C. CHHABRA, *op. cit.* p. 42). The past participle form *kīrtitaṁ* means 'was built' and here the original sense of the root *kṛ* was retained in its semantic evolution.

REVIEWS

Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, by Franklin Edgerton, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Yale University. 1953, pp. 1-627.

This is a vast work of the magnitude of CHILDERS' *Pali Dictionary* or MONIER-WILLIAMS' *Sanskrit Dictionary*, which must be the fruit like those great works of the author's endless labour and high critical judgment. The author seems to have read and mastered every line of what has been written and published within the last hundred years on the subject of Buddhist literature both in its textual and interpretative aspects. It is a unique gain to have at one place the gist of all that has been previously written regarding each word of the extensive literature that goes by the name of Sanskrit Buddhist canon. Such a work was long awaited, and it took Dr. EDGERTON some twenty years to accomplish it. Many like ourselves will long remain indebted to the author for the intellectual enrichment conferred through this most laudable work. In humble token we offer a few notes on the points that a casual perusal of the Dictionary has brought to our notice. They may kindly be accepted in the same constructive spirit as has inspired their emanation. The arrangement of words will not follow any alphabetical order. *hirodaka* and *andakāṣṭha*—These words are said to occur at *Divy (āvadana)* 384.24 (*athāsoko rājā hirodakasikatāpiṇḍair andakāṣṭhebhyo'pi asūrataratvaṁ kāyasyāvetiya*) Cowell entered *hirodaka* as blood (?), from *hirā*—vein and *udaka*, water. Edgerton rightly thinks that 'this is quite implausible', and then goes on to observe: The instr. *-piṇḍair* is apparently associative, with the following word; perhaps render *eggshells along with lumps* etc., eggshells being likewise symbolic of worthlessness and also fragility' (Dict. p. 620). The word *andakāṣṭha* is rendered as 'eggshell' (Dict. p. 8), but rightly taken to be 'doubtful'. We submit that there are no such words as *andakāṣṭha* and *hirodaka*, the former is the result of misjoinder or wrong splitting of *saṁdhi*: *sikatāpiṇḍair andakāṣṭhebhyaḥ* (as printed in Cowell's edition) should be split as *sikatāpiṇḍa* and *eraṇḍakāṣṭhebhyaḥ* without any strain on the text as printed. The reading *hirodaka* requires a rechecking with the original Ms. preserved in the Darbar Library at Kathmandu, and the Mss at Paris and Cambridge. I have not had this advantage so far, but make bold to suggest that the original reading was *himodaka*, 'dew' or 'frost'. The sentence becomes clear: 'realizing that the body is more worthless even than dew, a lump of sand or the wood of the *eraṇḍa* (castor-oil) plant'. These two entries, in view of the above, should be deleted from all dictionaries (cf. MONIER-WILLIAMS, p. 1299, *hirodaka*, n. blood, *Divyāv.*).

pula, n., or *pulā*, f. (dual *pule*) 'designates something given by Mahākātyayana to a devatā as relic or keepsake, with the thought that these two articles were not to be worn or kept (*na dhārayitavye*) in Madhyadeśa, by Buddha's instructions: Divy 581.7. May it be related to Skt. *pulaka*, Amg. *pulaga*, *pulaa*, a kind of gem? not mentioned in Divy Index, no further clue to meaning'. (Dict., p. 349).

We submit that the meaning of the word *pulā* was 'sandals'. This meaning is still preserved in the Hindi word *paulā* Hindi Śabdasāgara, (p. 2208),¹ a kind of sandals without the vertical knob but with two fastening strings, still in use in north Indian villages. But EDGERTON would have himself recovered the meaning if he had recollected his own entry of *maṇḍa-pūla* (p. 415), wherein the second member is *pūla*, and which denoted a kind of short boots, as noted on the basis of Chinese translation. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the correct form of the word was *maṇḍa-pūla* (as noted in the Kyoto edn. of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*) which is still preserved in the Hindi word *maṇḍā* recorded as a kind of shoe in the Hindi Śabdasāgara (p. 2762)²

The *puṣpalohamayī muṇḍi* of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (691.25) (Dict. p. 434) seems to be a textual error for *gaṇḍi*, i.e. a gong (Dict. p. 208) made of bell-metal. *Puṣpaloha* is not 'a kind of precious stone' (Dict. p. 350), but bell-metal (cf. Medinī, *puṣpakam rītikā-netrarogayoh*).

Phuṭṭaka (Divy. 29.7-9,12) as contrasted with *Kāśika*, is rightly understood as 'a cloth of small value' (Dict. p. 396), but in reality it was cotton cloth, *phuṭṭaka* being still used in Sindhi for 'cotton'.

Sthalikā in Divy, 123.22 should be not merely a little pot (Dict. p. 611), but a cooking pot as in *sthālī-pulāka*, a sense which eminently suits the Divy. context (*sā ekasyārthāyā sthālīkām sādhayati śatāni sahasrāṇi ca bhujjate*).

In the Divy 475.18-19 occurs an interesting, but obscure, list of toys: *Krīḍāpanīkāni bhavanti tad yāthā akāyikā sakāyikā vitkoṭikā syapeṭārikā agharikā vaṁśaghaṭikā saṁdhāvaṇīkā hastivigrahā asvavigrahā balīvarda-vigrahāḥ kathayanti*

1. पौला—एक प्रकार की खड़ाऊँ जिसमें छूटी नहीं होती, छेद में बँधी हुई रस्सी में अँगूठा कँसा रहता है। उ०—पौला पहिरि कै हर जोतैं औ सुयना पहिरि निरावैं। कहैं घाघ ये हीनों भकुआ सिर बोफा औ गावैं।

2. मुंडा—एक प्रकार का जूता जिसमें नोक नहीं होती और जो प्रायः सिपाही लोग पहना करते हैं।

Figurines of elephants, horses and bulls are well known amongst Indian terracotta toys found at the excavated sites. *Akāyikā* seems to refer to 'the heads' and *sakāyika* to 'the full length figurines' comprising both head and bust that are found in profusion during excavations. For *syapeṭārikā*, EDGERTON notes 'probably corrupt at least in the first syllable' (Dict. p. 615), and he is right in the light of the firm identification of this toy I am able to offer. The first part is *Sītā* > *Siyā* > *Siyā* > *Syā*, and the toy is what we still call *sītā-piṭārī*, or *sītā-kī-rasōī*, which consists of a tray or basket full of miniature cooking utensils of all kinds and made of clay, metal, or wood, and sometimes even gold or ivory. Specimens of it called *Girihasthī* may be seen being sold at every North Indian fair. *Vamśa-ghaṭikā* appears to have been a toy of miniature size made in imitation of the time-measuring apparatus, referred to as *chāyā-nālikā* in the *Arthaśāstra* (1.7, 1.19). There were two devices for measuring the parts of the day, *chāyā* requiring the use of a *śaniku* or *vamśa* (a long pole) and *nālikā*, translated as *ghatikā* by Ganapati Sastri (Arth., Trivandrum edn., p. 94), the use of water or sand for filling it in a given time. What was known early as *chāyā*, appears to have been called *vamśa-ghaṭikā* in the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods. The other device was that of *nālikā* or *ab-ghaṭikā*, a water-pot floating in water. *Agharikā*, in which the initial syllable is uncertain, seems to represent an original *ab-ghaṭikā*, distinguished from *vamśa-ghaṭikā*, i.e. water-clock and sun-clock respectively.

Vitkoṭikā Edgerton regards to be 'doubtless corrupt' (Dict. p. 487). Coming after *akāyikā*, *sakāyikā*, as explained above, it seems to have been either *vikatīkā* a grotesque bandy-legged female dwarf figurine as found amongst ancient clay figurines (cf. Ancient India, No. 4, V. S. AGRAWALA, Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, pl. XXXVI), or *vetra-kuṭikā* > *vetta-kuṭikā*, the first part reduced to dialectical *vit* (cf. *sītā* > *sya*, above), and signifying a female staff-bearing attendant or *pratihārī* (cf. ibid. pl. LII A, Figs. 191-193).

On p. 471 *vartikā* in *pāśāṇa-vartikā* is apparently rendered as 'gravel' which is attested in Hindi *baṭiā*, as *sāligrām kī baṭiā*, *patthar-kī-baṭiā*. *Dhaṭika* (Dict. p. 275) is akin to Hindi *dhāṭā*, turban, or *dhāṭī*, a cloth tied on the chain and beard. *Vardhanikā* is rendered as 'water-pot', but is better preserved in Hindi *badhnī*, a broom-stick. AMg. *vaddhaṇia* is taken as *saṁmārjanā* (Pāiasaddamahannava, p. 926).

Pātra-poṇika of Mahāvvyutpatti (8950) is rendered as 'bowl-carrier', and *poṇika* as 'receptacle' or 'container' (Dict. p. 354). EDGERTON also cites for comparison, the Deśī word *poṇiā* — *sūtrabhṛttarkuḥ* (Deśināmamālā, 6.28), but that is altogether a different word, preserved in Hindi *pūnī* or *paunī*, a sliver of carded cotton. *Pātra-poṇika* of Mvy. conceals a different word

altogether. As cited by Edgerton himself the newly published *Mūlasarvāstivādi Vinaya* (M SV, IV. 67.15) gives the correct original form as *pātra-yonikā*, in which the latter part is hyper-Sanskritisation of dialectical *jūnā*, which according to Platts denoted 'a rope of grass (for cleaning vessels, or for tying a bundle), a ring of twisted grass or twine (placed as a support under a round-bottomed vessel J. T. PLATTS, A. Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English, Fifth Imp., 1930, p. 398). This suits very well the Mvy. context for this word read between *śikya* and *pātra-sthapika*. Now Hindi *jūnā*, a word of wide currency (twisted rope of muñja grass, Grierson, Behar Peasant Life, 120, 122) was derived from Vedic *Yūna* (Kāty. Sr. Sūtra, I. 3.14, *yūnam* = *kuśanirmītā rajjuh*) which, or a dialectical form of which must have been at the root of BHS *yonikā*. The word *poṇa* (Dict. p. 354) is rendered as 'a cleaning filter'. It is the same word as preserved in Hindi *paunā*, *paunī*, a perforated iron ladle or spoon used (esp. by confectioners) for skimming or straining (Platts, *ibid.* p. 281); *daṇḍa-poṇam* of Mvy would be 'strainer with a handle'.

Under *pantha*, the form *panthā* (Divy. 257.13, *panthāsamo mātrgrāmaḥ*) should also have been recorded.

Pusta was a significant word in the cultural terminology of the Gupta epoch, and required to be explained with more clarity. It signified clay or stucco modelling, and *pustamaya* a figure so produced: Vaiśampāyana seated statuesquely in his love-smitten condition appeared like a pillar in a building, a figure drawn in painting, a statue carved in sculpture, or a figure modelled in plaster (*stambhita iva*, *likhita iva*, *utkirṇa iva*, *pustamaya iva*, Kādambarī)—obviously a reference to the fourfold media of art-expression. This meaning suits the passage from Lalita-Vistara (LV) cited by EDGERTON (Dict. p. 350). *Khādyaka* in Divy 404.16 is the same as Hindi *khājā*, a special sweet, being a rectangular puffed cake made of wheat flour fried in *ghī* and coated with sugar. It is referred to in the Apabhraṃśa Bhavisayattakahā as *khajja* (XII. 3. 13) and Br̥hatkathākośa as *khajjaka* (see also GRIERSON, Bihar Peasant Life, 1272). *Khalli* is given as obscure and corrupt (Dict. p. 204), but it is the same as Hindi *khāl*, skin, a meaning which suits very well the passage cited from Saddharma-pundarika (SP): *dr̥ṣṭvā teṣāṃ ca jarām upasthitāṃ valī ca khallī ca śiraś ca pāṇḍaram*, 'seeing their old age, wrinkled skin and gray head'. *Mūṭoḍī* rightly explained as a farmer's bag or large container (Dict. p. 436), reminds at once of Hindi *mutḍī* or *moṭrī*, the root of which was the word *muṭa* or *mūṭa* (Dict. p. 436) and Hindi *moṭ*, a skin bag used for drawing water (Grierson, *ibid.* 936). In Mahāvastu (Mv) iii. 31.11, *upalānām paṭam chittvā*, 'splitting off a piece of the stones' (Dict. p. 315), *paṭa* is preserved in the Hindi word *phaṭ*, meaning a slab of stone split from a huge block, e.g. a block of 6' × 2' × 18" is detached from the

quarry and then split into 12 slabs of $6' \times 2' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ size, each being called a *phaḍ*, which must have been also the meaning of Skt. *paṭa*. *Nālikā* in the passage *pucchan̄ sauvarṇāyān̄ nālikāyān̄ prakṣiptam* (Divy 514.6) seems to be not 'a tubular vessel or receptacle' (Dict. p. 294), but an ornament to decorate the horse's tail, as in the *Harṣacarita*, *sthānapāla-paryāṇa-lambamāna-lavaṇakalayī-kiṅkiṇī-nālī-sanātha-saṅkalitā-talasārake* (Nirnaya Sagar ed, VII. 205). The second meaning of *nālikā* as 'a metal plate on which the hour is struck' (Dict. p. 294) was a semantic development of *nālikā* as a tubular vessel for measuring time, which was announced by beating a gong when the *nālikā* or *ghaṭikā* was full (cf. the *Arthaśāstra* passage *chāyā-nālikā* cited above).

Pāṇḍukambalaśilā, explained as 'the throne of Indra (perhaps orig., the stone of which it is made)' (Dict. p. 340), was originally a seat with *pāṇḍukambala* as its coverlet, this being a special blanket known to Pāṇini (IV. 2.11) and woven in Gandhāra (*Indagopakavaṇṇābhā Gandhārā paṇḍukambalā*, Vessantara Jāt., VI. 500), a craft practised in the Swat valley even today (Sir Aurel Stein, *An Archl. Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, A.S.M., No. 42, p. 63).

Ārambanaka is rightly equated with *ālambanaka*, an architectural term (Dict. p. 103), which really denoted a base-stone for an upright pillar (cf. Lüders List of Brāhmī Ins. No. 921^a).

The respective meanings of the several architectural terms are not clearly distinguished in the Dict. (see *adhiṣṭhāna*, *ālambana*). I suggest that *stambha* was an upright pillar, *adhiṣṭhāna* the basement stone in the socket of which the pillar was inserted and held in position, *sūcikā* a cross-bar, three of which were fitted between two pillars, and *ālambana* the coping stone which was fixed on the top of several uprights. Originally in the Suṅga period a coping was called *uṣṇīṣa* (Pali *uṇṇhīsa*, Pkt inscriptions *umṇīsa*) and a base-stone *ālambana*. Later there seems to have been a change when *adhiṣṭhāna* denoted the base-stone, and *ālambana* the top one, a meaning which seems to have been intended in the Sarnath epigraph *bhikkhunīkāye Saṃvāhikāye dānaṃ ālambanam* engraved on an architectural fragment No. D (a) 39 of that Museum. The three terms in the Divy. passage *vedikāyāḥ sūci ālambanam adhiṣṭhānam* (221.9) may thus be clearly understood.

For *naityaka*, 'food regularly and permanently provided by laymen for monks and nuns' (Dict. p. 312), I would also like to draw attention to its use in the *Āraṇyakaparvan* 82.90, 91 (*yakṣīnyā naityakam, maṇināgasya naityakam*) in the sense of *prasāda*, the remnants of food offered to an idol.

Discussing the various meanings of *maṇḍa*, in *bodhi-maṇḍa* the literal meaning of *maṇḍa* is clearly the best, supreme point (Dict. p. 415; also p. 402). I should like to draw attention to a special meaning of *maṇḍa* still current in Hindi dialects, viz. a raised platform, specially used with reference to 'the raised rim' (of a well) (Platts, *ibid*, p. 1074). *Bodhi-maṇḍa* would then be the platform or raised seat on which the Buddha was seated at the time of his enlightenment. Similarly for *maṇika*, 'worthless (glass-) gem' (Dict. p. 415), attention may be drawn to Hindi *mankā* (Platts, p. 1079) and *maniyāñ* (*ibid*. p. 1084), meaning 'a bead', for both of which Platts had suggested *maṇika* as the original Sanskrit form.

Gulma, which COWELL'S Index in the Divy. explained as 'wharf-dues' is corrected by Edgerton, but his own meaning of 'a kind of fee' perhaps transit fee, fee for pass, or customs fee' (Dict. p. 214) hardly improves matters. *Gulma* was a forest thicket and division of an army. Patañjali on Pāṇini IV. 2.104 refers to *gaulmika* income, which should refer to revenue from forest sources. But Kautilya refers twice to a *gulma* fee (Arth. II. 16; II. 35) which Ganapati SASTRI translates as *vana-sthānika-deya* (the fee payable in consideration of the defence post—*sthāna*—in a forest which ensured safe passage to caravans), or *rakṣi-saṃghadeya* (the fee for a military escort provided for the safety of merchants, etc.), in both of these *gulma* meaning 'a force of armed men'. Manu throws light on the nature of *gulma* arrangements: The *gulma* forces are to be stationed in a unit of 2, 3 or 5 villages, linked to a bigger unit of 100 villages (VII. 114). They should be persons of trustworthy character (*āpta*) and made known by external signs (of dress, etc.) *krta saṃjñā*, VII. 190). There were two kinds of *gulma* forces, stationed at one place (*sthāvara*) and for patrol duty (*jaṅgama*) and they were posted for duty in the palace, market-place, booths, street-crossings, *samāja* festivals, theatres, deserted places, parks, artisans' workshops, forests and gardens, with the special object of guarding against thieves (Manu, IX. 264-266). The same is more or less repeated in the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparvan 69.67). It has an approximate coincidence to the modern armed constabulary and police force. According to the Divy. passage (p. 34) the sea-trader *Pūrṇa* announced a three-fold concession to those traders who would join his naval trip, viz. freedom from customs fee (*aśulka*), escort charges (*agulma*) and freight (*atarapaṇya*) which is a gesture of generosity he proposed to meet himself. As the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini IV. 4.47 informs such fees were old customary dues (*dharmya*), that for escort being called *gaulmika* (*gulmasya dharmyam*) and for customs *śaulkaśālaka*.

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Dhvanyāloka of Anandavardhana Uddyota I: Edited with exposition by Shri B. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., P.R.S. Published by K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1956.

The volume before us contains the text of Uddyota I of Anandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, with an elaborate exposition in English by Shri B. BHATTACHARYA. It does not contain a literal translation of the text, though this is mostly included in the brilliant and exhaustive exposition which accompanies the text.

The exposition is very thorough, and fully satisfies the needs of a careful reader. It gives a full explanation of the points actually raised or even suggested in Anandavardhana's work and also supplies copious but relevant extracts from the allied works like *Kāvya prakāśa*, *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, *Ekāvalī*, *Vyaktiviveka*, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and *Rasagaṅgādhara* as also from the celebrated commentary of Abhinavagupta. The question about the authorship of the *Kārikās* and *Vṛtti*, the influence of the *Dhvanikāra* on the thoughts of later writers and the opponents of the theory of *Dhvani* has been well discussed in the introduction. In short, the volume contains practically everything which an intelligent and critical reader of the *Dhvanyāloka* may desire to have and Prof. BHATTACHARYA deserves our congratulations on this excellent performance. We recommend that a running translation may be added, if possible, in the next volumes, which we hope would follow without much delay.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan
Bombay

H. D. VELANKAR

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